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WILLIAM PENN IN AMERICA:

OR AN

ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE

FROM THE TIME HE RECEIVED THE GRANT OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN 1681, UNTIL HIS FINAL RETURN
TO ENGLAND.

Giving, as far as possible, his every-day occurrences while in the Province.

BY

WILLIAM J. BUCK,

MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

Author of "History of Bucks County," "History of Moreland," "History of Montgomery County within the Schuylkill Valley," "History of Montgomery County," "Life of Chief-Justice Langhorne," "Contributions to the History of Bucks County," "The Cuttelossa," "The Local Historian," "History of the Indian Walk," "Local Sketches and Legends," "Early Discovery of Coal in Pennsylvania," "Early Accounts of Petroleum in the United States," etc., etc.

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WILLIAM PENN IN AMERICA

PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH several biographies have appeared respecting the Founder of Pennsylvania, the author believes that there is still room for another; relating to that particular portion of his life which he spent in the Province: commencing with his first application for the grant until his final return to England, extending through a period of more than twenty years. Within this time transpired the most important events by which he will continue to be best known. Judging by the little space given hitherto to these matters would go to show that there must have been either inattention, or a paucity of materials. Though his several biographers have written with different motives, but not one with a view of enlarging upon the details of his residence in America.

During the author's long connection with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, he observed that no information was more sought after than that of Penn while living in his Province. The object of this work is to supply this want, and what is now offered is the result of upwards of thirty-five years diligent labor in

bringing together the materials, involving considerable travel and expense. When we remember that nearly the whole of its contents relate to almost two centuries ago, we are gratified at our success in thus producing a valuable addition, not only to the life of Penn, but to the early history of Pennsylvania, derived, as it chiefly is, from original sources, and that of the most reliable kind, particularly official documents and correspondence, from which we have been enabled to give numerous extracts.

Our object as far as possible was to show the every-day movements of Penn whilst among us; this has enabled us to detect as well as to correct several errors respecting dates. With the exception of Janney, his biographers appear to have given little attention to chronology, particularly Clarkson and Dixon. At the remissness of the latter in this respect we wonder when we consider how well his work has been digested. From the extensive use made of early original manuscripts we were necessitated to take some liberties therewith. While we have in some cases made literal extracts, in others we have modernized the phraseology, or filled up the abbreviations; but in no instance did we alter the language or endeavor to give it a construction different from the original; our intention in this respect

was only to perform the part of a careful editor. This work naturally divides itself into two parts, namely: his first and second visits here. The former begins with Penn's grant and ends with his arrival in England, the next with his second return and final departure to the appointment of Governor Evans.

To avoid too many notes or references, a list is furnished of the various authorities consulted in the preparation of this work. It will be noticed that among those published, about one-fourth are rare and little known, whilst of the manuscripts perhaps no other complete copies exist. On any disputed points, or where the author's opinion might differ, he was the more careful to furnish his authorities. Taken on the whole, Penn's character by this work is favorably sustained; at the same time we did not desire to be partial, but to do him that justice to which he is fairly entitled. Neither have we sought to raise him up by reviling his enemies, but to let his actions speak for themselves. We attribute most of his troubles, not so much to the opposition that he encountered, as to his own pecuniary mismanagement; this was his dire affliction and if it did not follow him through his whole career, it did at least through most of it. It was his weakness;—naturally generous, warm-hearted and indulgent

as a parent, he could not resist the strong appeals continually made to him, and hence his embarrassments.

Among published works we have derived great aid from the Penn and Logan Correspondence, the Colonial Records and Archives, and the Memoirs and Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. From manuscript sources we have obtained considerable from the Penn Manuscripts, the Dreer Collection of Penn and Markham Manuscripts, the Penn Private Correspondence, the Claypoole Letter Book, the Harrison Letters, the Logan Papers, and the Records and Minutes belonging to at least five Monthly Meetings of the Society of Friends, were all personally examined. In the way of assistance for information furnished, tender grateful acknowledgements to Ferdinand J. Dreer, to whose invaluable collection of manuscripts I owe much, also to John Jordan, Jr., and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; thanks are also due for favors to the several custodians of the Records mentioned in the following list. This work we know might have been greatly extended, but our object was to be concise, while we aimed at fullness with detail.

To a work of this kind we have noticed several

references. Peter S. Du Ponceau, in his Address before the Philosophical Society in 1821, remarks, " No other State in this Union can boast of such an illustrious founder; none began their social career under auspices so honorable to humanity. Every trait of the life of that great man, every fact and anecdote of those golden times, will be sought for by our descendants with avidity, and will furnish many an interesting subject for the fancy of the novelist, and the enthusiasm of the poet. It is, therefore, highly important, that while recent traditions and numerous authentic but perishable documents are still in our power, we should collect all those valuable materials, and embody their substance in an historical work worthy of being handed down to posterity. Although such a work will not be fruitful of great incidents, still it will exhibit human nature under a varied aspect; great faults will be found associated with great virtues; the reader more than once, while he admires the latter, be compelled with regret to acknowledge, as the former strikes his view, that no efforts of the human mind can ever produce absolute perfection in this sublunary world; and upon the whole, it may with truth be asserted, that there will be found in the history of Pennsylvania, much to instruct and much to delight."

William Rawle, in his address before the Historical Society in 1825, expressed the following views: "Of the founder of Pennsylvania, though the public knows much, it does not perhaps know all. There is reason to believe that many private documents are still in existence, which would present to us in colors strong and true, the enlightening, vivifying and chastening power of his genius on all around him; while the colony hung on him as their judge, their legislator, and their guide." "That such a character," remarks James Bowden, "as William Penn should have had many biographers cannot excite surprise. His fame may be said to be world-wide, and men of far different sentiments to have inscribed his name on the pages of history, as one of the most illustrious of his age—an age, it should be remembered, of stirring events, and conspicuous for men of brilliant attainments."

W. J. B.

Jenkintown, Montgomery County, Pa., November, 1888.

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WILLIAM PENN IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE GRANT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE Government having become indebted to Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn, a distinguished officer in the British Navy, to the amount of about £16,000, including interest; his son, in consequence of the long delay, became desirous of winding up the affairs of his estate, and to have the same settled. Either unable or unwilling to pay the same, the latter conceived the plan of asking in lieu thereof the grant of a tract of land in America, for the purpose of more particularly establishing a colony. A conveyance was made August 16th (6th mo.), 1680,* to Edward Billinge, William Penn, G. Laurie, N. Lucas, John Eldridge, and Edward Warner, of all the territory of the province of West New Jersey. It was this, no doubt, that helped to attract the attention of the subsequent great founder to this portion of the country, as he first became interested in the same in 1675.

* The year then commenced with March as the first month, and the old style will be retained throughout this work.

It must have been about the date of the aforesaid grant that he first prepared his proposals in a petition to the then reigning monarch, Charles II. His Majesty referred the same to the consideration of the Committee of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, accompanied by a draft for a grant of a tract of land for settling a colony and plantation in America, which he desires may pass to William Penn for the government of that colony. On November 19th, the Secretary was authorized to hand to the Attorney-General for his observations the powers proposed, and to report whether there was anything to object. The latter, on the 21st, presented his views at some length as to the nature, requirements and conditions of the patent. The Committee met again February 24th, reading over carefully the grant as prepared, and then made a favorable report to the King, in which they say:

"May it please Your Majesty. In Obedience to Your Majesty's Orders signifyed unto us by the Earl of Sunderland on the 1st of June last, We have prepared the Draught of a Charter constituting William Penn, Esq., Absolute Proprietary of a Tract of Land in America therein mentioned, which we humbly present to Your Majesty for Your Royal Approbation, leaving also the Naming of the Province unto Your Majesty.

Which is most humbly submitted.

24th Febry., 1680–1."

We possess sufficient evidence in the aforesaid, that the King bestowed on the grant the name of Pennsylvania. From the beginning it required a vexatious attendance on the part of Penn on the Committee, the Chief Justice, Attorney-General, and agents of Lord Baltimore, before he could reach the consummation of his wishes. At length, after many delays and much solicitude, he had the gratification of learning that his patent was prepared, and to which the King affixed his signature, March 4th, 1681. This venerable document may be seen in the office of the Secretary of State at Harrisburg, written in the old English style, every line underscored with red ink, and the borders gorgeously ornamented with heraldic devices, and at the beginning a likeness of his Majesty.

Penn must have received this information with great satisfaction, if we are to judge his feelings as expressed in a letter written the next day to his friend, Robert Turner, a merchant of Dublin, very probably just after he had received his charter.

"5th of 1st mo., 1681.

"Dear Friend:—My true love in the Lord salutes thee and dear friends that love the Lord's precious truth in those parts. Thine I have, and for my business here, know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitudes, and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of

Pennsylvania; *a name the King would give it* in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country, but Penn being Welsh for *a head*, as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, called this Pennsylvania, which is the *high or head woodlands;* for I proposed, when the Secretary, a Welshman, refused to have it called New Wales, *Sylvania*, and they added *Penn* to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the King to have it struck out and altered, he said it was past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under-secretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the King, as it truly was to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayest communicate my grant to Friends, and expect shortly my proposals.

"It is a clear and just thing and my God that hath given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be laid at first. No more now, but dear love in the truth. Thy true friend,

WM. PENN."

By said charter, William Penn is made absolute proprietary, saving to the King and his successors the sovereignty of the country, and due allegiance being

required from all. The grant was not "*in capita*," but in "free and common socage by fealty only," yielding and paying to the King *two beaver skins annually*, to be delivered at the castle of Windsor, and also the fifth part of all gold and silver ore which shall be found within said limits. The proprietary, with the assent and approbation of the freemen of the colony, was empowered to make all necessary laws not inconsistent with the laws of England. The laws of the province were to be transmitted to the privy council for approbation. Appeals from the judgment of the colonial courts might, in certain cases, be taken to the King.

The extent of this grant is stated to comprise "all that tract or parte of land in America, with all the islands therein conteyned, as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware River, from twelve miles distance, Northwarde of New Castle Towne, unto the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude if the said River doth extend soe farre Northwards; But if the said River shall not extend soe farre Northwards; then by the said River soe farre as it doth extend, and from the head of the said River the Eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to bee drawn from the head of the said River unto the said three and fortieth degree, the said lands to extend Westwards five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said Eastern Bounds, and the said lands to be bounded on the North by the beginning of the three and fortieth

degree of Northern latitude, and on the South by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle, Northwards and Westwards unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern latitude; and then by a straight line Westwards to the limitt of Longitude above menconed."

The fruits and commodities of the province might be imported into any of the ports of England, and not into any other port whatsoever, but within a year after the landing of the same in England they might be re-shipped to any other country, paying such duties as British subjects are bound to pay. Penn and his heirs were to enjoy such customs on imports and exports in the province as he or they and the people there, when assembled, may reasonably assess, saving to the King and his successors such impositions and customs as are, or by act of Parliament shall be appointed. But the King was to levy no taxes upon the inhabitants of the province without the consent of the proprietary or assembly, or by act of Parliament. Penn was invested with all the powers of a "captain-general," also "to levy muster, and train all sorts of men" to make war by sea and land against barbarous nations, pirates and robbers.

For the greater security of his province, the Duke of York also executed a deed for Pennsylvania to William Penn for any pretensions or claims that might be set up at any time in the future, either by himself, his heirs, successors, or others. It was dated August 20th, 1682,

and in which he says, "Now, therefore, this indenture witnesseth, that his said royal highness, out of a special regard to the memory and many faithful and eminent services heretofore performed by the said Sir William Penn to his said majesty and royal highness, and for the better encouraging him, the said William Penn, to proceed in cultivating and improving the said tract of ground and islands therein and thereunto belonging, and reducing the savage and barbarous natives thereof to civility, and for the goodwill which his said royal highness hath and beareth to the said William Penn, and for other good causes and considerations hath remised, released, and forever quit claim." This was deemed necessary on account of its jurisdiction having been for some time previously under the governors of New York.

Penn deemed it also prudent but it was not obtained without some negotiation from the Duke, two additional conveyances or deeds of feoffment from him on the 24th of the same month. By one of which he conveyed the town of New Castle and the country lying within a circle of twelve miles about it, and by the other all the land on Delaware Bay south of said circle to Cape Henlopen. These now comprise the State of Delaware, and were to be held "in free and common socage." For the first, he was to pay to the Duke the yearly rent of five shillings, and for the second "*one rose* at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel

yearly, if demanded," together with the moiety of all the rents and profits thereof. However, the Duke did not obtain for himself a regular conveyance for the same from his brother, the King, till March 22d, 1683. The leading object in this was to secure these territories from the claim entered upon by Lord Baltimore, and which led to so long and expensive a controversy afterwards. This section had been successively held by the Swedes and Dutch, and latterly by the government of New York under the Duke.

The Royal Charter, in its beginning, thus alludes to Penn's petition for the grant: "Whereas our trusty and well-beloved subject, William Penn, Esquire, son and heir of Sir William Penn, out of a commendable desire to enlarge our British Empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be of benefit to us and our dominions, as also to reduce the savage natives by just and gentle manners to the love of civil society and Christian religion, hath humbly besought leave of us, to transport an ample colony into a certain country, hereinafter described, in the parts of America, not yet cultivated and planted, and hath likewise so humbly besought our royal Majesty to give, grant, and confirm all the said country, with certain privileges and jurisdictions requisite for the good government and safety of the said country and colony, to him, and his heirs forever."

We observe in the aforesaid a positive mention, if not

a promise faithfully made, by the Proprietary, that "out of a commendable desire," among other matters, "to reduce the savage natives by just and gentle manners to the love of civil society and Christian religion," as deserving some consideration hereafter. As respects the original proposals, John Stoughton (*Wm. Penn, the Founder*, p. 165) gives us the following information: "The petition existed, but in a mutilated state, in 1735, when it was adduced in evidence during a trial in reference to the Penn possessions." No copy was discovered among the recently-acquired Penn manuscripts in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and its disappearance is therefore to be regretted.

It was the fortune of William Penn to have warm friends in Charles II. and his brother James, Duke of York. The former knighted his father for his distinguished services, and always held his memory in lasting esteem, as we also know by his naming this noble commonwealth after him when he had been consigned to the tomb upwards of ten years. For the Stuarts few good words are found, and we hesitate for these actions in the life of Penn, whether justice has been done them. In speaking of this family, Bancroft says that "North America acquired its British colonies during their rule, and towns, rivers, headlands, and even states, bear their names. The pacific disposition of James I. promoted the settlement of Virginia; a timely neglect fostered New England; the favoritism

of Charles I. opened the way for religious liberty in Maryland; Rhode Island long cherished the charter which its importunity won from Charles II.; the honest friendship of James II. favored the grants which gave liberties to Pennsylvania, and extended them to Delaware; the crimes of the dynasty banished to our country men of learning, virtue, and fortitude."

CHAPTER II.

MARKHAM DESPATCHED TO PENNSYLVANIA.

A MONTH had nearly elapsed from the signing of the charter, when the King issued a declaration of the fact in the following address to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, which, it would appear, was to prepare them for the coming of the Proprietary, and the reception of his government:—

"Charles R.—Whereas his majesty, in consideration of the great merit and faithful services of Sir William Penn, deceased, and for divers other good causes him thereunto moving, hath been graciously pleased, by letters-patent bearing date the 4th day of March last past, to give and grant unto William Penn, Esq., son and heir of the said Sir William Penn, all that tract," [etc., as described in the charter.]

"His majesty doth, therefore, hereby publish and declare his royal will and pleasure, that all persons settled or inhabiting within the limits of said province, do yield all due obedience to the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, as absolute proprietaries and governors thereof, as also to the deputies, agents, or

lieutenants, lawfully commissioned by him or them, according to the powers and authorities granted by the said letters-patent, wherewith his majesty expects and requires a ready compliance from all persons whom it may concern, as they tender his majestie's displeasure.

Given at Court, etc., 2d April, thirty-third year of reign, By his majesty's command.

CONWAY."

About this time Penn had decided to appoint his cousin, William Markham, of London, his Deputy-Governor, to proceed in a few days to the new province and assume the government, and also be prepared for his coming as soon as he could make all the requisite arrangements in his business affairs to take charge of those duties. In the selection of his kinsman for so important a post he no doubt made an excellent choice, and it is remarkable that in the several biographies of Penn, nothing appears relative to so conspicuous a character. He was the son of the Admiral's sister, and we infer from the Penn manuscripts that his father's name was also William, and that he had died some time previous. Some authorities state that he was a captain, and others a colonel in the British Army; we have also noticed in some documents his being called "gentleman," and he is mentioned in the Admiral's will, which bears date January 20th, 1669, as his "nephew," at which time he must have been quite young.

Penn also prepared an address a few days after, which we give as copied verbatim from the original:

"For the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania. To be read by my Deputy," and is indorsed, "The Proprietor's Letter to ye Inhabitants of Pennsilvania."

"My Friends:—I wish you all happiness here & hereafter. Thes are to lett you know that it hath pleased god in his providence to cast you within my Lott & care. It is a business yt though I never undertook before, yet god has given me an understanding of my Duty & an honest minde to doe it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at ye chainge & the King's choice, for you are now fixt, at ye mercy of no Governour yt comes to make his fortune great, you shall be govern'd by laws of yr own making, & live a free and if you will a Sober & industrious People. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnisht me with a Better resolution, & has given me his grace to keep it. In short wt ever sober & free men can reasonably desire for ye security & improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with, & in five months resolve if it pleas god to see you. In ye mean time, pray submitt to ye commands of my Deputy, so farr as they are consistant with ye law, & pay him thos dues (yt formerly you paid to ye order of ye Governours of New York) for my use & benefitt, & so I

beseech god to divert you in ye way of righteousness & therein prosper you & yr children after you, I am your true Frd.

WM. PENN.

London, 8th of ye month call'd Aprill, 1681." (2.*)

The necessary arrangements having been made with Markham for his speedy departure, the Proprietary proceeded forthwith to give him such instructions as the short interval would allow since he came in possession of the charter. For a copy of his appointment we are indebted to Mr. Hazard, who in his Annals says he unexpectedly found the original in the Secretary of State's office at Boston, in a volume marked "Colonial."

"The commission given by William Penn, governor and proprietor of the province of Pennsylvania, to his cousin, William Markham, to be deputy governor for him, of the aforesaid province. At Westminster, this 10th of 2d mo. 1681.

"Whereas the king hath graciously, upon divers good considerations, to settle upon me and my heirs forever, by his letters-patent, under the great seal of England, dated the 4th of March last, a tract of land in America, by the name of Pennsylvania, lying and bounded as in the said letters-patent is particularly expressed, with

* These figures have reference to our manuscript authorities mentioned at the beginning.

ample powers and authorities for the well-governing of the same, to be exercised by me or my deputy. Out of the special regard that I have to the care and fidelity of my cousin William Markham, I do hereby appoint him my deputy, and fully authorize him in my stead and for my behoof, and for the benefit of the said province, to act and perform what may be fully needful to the peace and safety thereof, till I myself shall arrive, or he shall receive further orders; that is to say, he has hereby power, To call a council," etc. Is also directed to read a letter and the King's declaration to the inhabitants, settle boundaries with neighbors, erect courts, appoint officers, call on the inhabitants to suppress tumults, and generally do all but calling an assembly to make laws. Witnesses to the same are Henry West and John West.

Hazard appears to express some surprise that nothing is therein mentioned in relation to the Indians, but this will be found in another paper to Markham, dated the 18th of 8th month following, of which he could have had no knowledge.

Markham at this time has been represented as being scarcely of age, but we question this, for he was a married man, and, like Penn in his first voyage, thought it prudent to leave his partner behind till he had at least got comfortably fixed in the thinly-settled country whither he was going. Francis Richardson accompanied him, but the name of the vessel he em-

barked on is not known, which would indicate that there could have been at most but few passengers on board. He arrived at New York June 15th, with all the necessary papers and instructions from the King, the Duke, the Proprietary, his kinsman, as well as of others, so as to facilitate and open the way for the mission on which he had been sent.

Before he left New York, he received from the Lieutenant-Governor there an order dated June 21st, addressed "To the justices of the peace, magistrates, and other officers within the bounds and limits mentioned now called Pennsylvania," and which had hitherto been under his jurisdiction, be now surrendered. It is very probable that Markham proceeded overland, entering the newly-acquired territory at the Falls, now opposite Trenton. Near the beginning of October, he was at Passyunk, now near the south-western portion of the built-up part of the city of Philadelphia. In evidence from an original document we copy the following:

"Whereas, the selling of Strong Lickers was prohibited in Pensilvania, and not att Newcastell and ther beeing Rom and making themselves more debeiched then before (in spite of this prohibition). Therefore we, whouse Name are heare under written doe desire that the prohibition may be taken off and Rome and Strong Lickers may be sould (in the fore said Province) as formerly, untill it be prohibited in Newcastell and in that Governmt of Deleware.

Pesienck in Pensilvania, 8th Octobr, 1681.
To the Govener and Counsell of Pennsylvania.

NANNE SEKA
KEKA RAPPAN
TONG GORAS
ESPAN APPE" (2.)

Although but little over seven months had passed since the granting of the charter, and Markham had not been four months in the country, being addressed "To the Governer and Counsell of Pensilvania," it would imply that in this brief time he must have been pretty active, to cause such a missive in this early attempt at suppressing the liquor traffic with the Indians. The first signature for "his marke," has a representation of a strung bow, the second a tortoise, the third a turkey and the last a rattlesnake, all pretty well drawn.

At the second session of the Court, held at Upland, November 30th, as we learn from the records: "William Markham, Esq., governor and president," was present, and no doubt remained there over winter. On December 7th, he dated from here two interesting letters, from which we give space for extracts. The first was addressed to his wife, and that in the next paragraph to a friend. He appears to have been delighted with the country, and must have impressed the readers of that day with considerable novelty.

"It is a very fine Country, if it were not so overgrown with woods; and very healthy. Here people

live to be above 100 years of age. Provision of all sorts are indifferent plentiful: Venison especially. I have seen four Bucks bought for less than 5s., the Indians killing them only for their skins. In the Winter, there is mighty plenty of Wild Fowl of all sorts; Partridges I am cloyd with; we catch them by hundreds at a time. In the fall of the Leaf, or after Harvest, here are abundance of wild Turkeys, which are mighty easie to be shot; Duck, Mallard, Geese and Swans in abundance wild; Fish are in great plenty. In short, if a Country Life be liked by any, it might be here. That which is most scarce is Mutton and Beef, because you must kill it yourself, I mean of your own. What Beef is kill'd, is in October, or there abouts, and salted up for the whole year: last October I kill'd two very fat Bullocks."

"I will now give you an Account of the Country; It is in a mighty good Air, and very healthy. Here are abundance of good Fruits; all sorts of Apples, Cherries, Pears, good Plumbs; but I knew not what to call them; Peaches as good as any in the World; some they feed their hoggs with, and some they distill and make a sort of Brandy: Abundance of Mullberrys. The Hoggs eat the Chesnuts as they do the Acorns; abundance of Walnuts; Grapes grow wild in the Woods, and indifferent good: they might be made very good; Mellons both Mus and Water as good as can be; and several others I cannot think of. Fish

good store; but we are afraid to put out a Net lest a Sturgeon gets in and breaks it, for we have innumerable of them, that they leap into the Boats very often. Beasts we have of all kinds, and Tame Fowl. Abundance of Dear: the Indians kill them only for their skins, and leave the Flesh in the Woods. We have very good Horses, and the Men ride madly on them: they make nothing of riding 80 miles of a Day; and when they get to their Journeys end, turn the Horses into the Field: they never Shoo them."

While at Upland about this time he received from England the following letter, which may have been the first from there since his departure. It is given verbatim from the original, and we have reason to believe that it has not been previously published.

"London, 18th 8th mo., 1681.

"Cosen Markham:—My sincere love salutes thee, wishing thy prosperity every way, with this comes Instructions and concessions with some Company. I hope thou hast made Convenient provisions for them. I have sent my Cosen William Crispin to be thy Assistant, as by Commission will appear, his skill, experience, industry and integrity are well known to me and particularly in Court keeping, etc. So yt is my will and pleasure, that he be as Chief Justice to keep ye Seal ye Courts and Sessions; and he shall be accountable to me for it. the profitts redounting are to his proper behoof. he will show thee my Instructions

wch will guide you all in ye business. ye rest is Left to your discretion; yt is, to thee, thy two Assistants and ye Council.

How I shall tell thee, that if thy Inclinations rather run to a sea life, I shall put thee in Command of a vessel to carry People and goods betwixt this country and that, wch if thou chusest it come wth all ye speed thou canst, yt thou mayst be here before I goe and command a vessel backwards, the proffit is more, I think the credit not less. but this is left to yee to come or stay till I come thither. pray be very respectful to my Cosen Crispen, he is a man my father had great confidence in and value for, also Strive to give Content to ye Planters and wth meek and sweetness, mixt wth Authority carry it So as thou mayst honour me as well as thyselfe, and I do hereby promess thee, I will effectually answer it to thee and thyn. give the Inclosed in Sweeds, to ye Sweed's Priests to read to ye Sweeds; it comes from Sweeds embassador's in England, ye Ld Liembergh, whos lady is lately dead. also myn to ye Natives and the Inhabitants, and be tender of my creditt wth all watching to prevent all fals Storys, and inculcate all the honest and advantageous things on my behalf yt may be, in wch be diligent, I can say no more. but wish you all prosperity in ye fear of ye lord, to whom I committ you all, and rest

Thy true Frd and Affect Kinsman,

WM. PENN."

"I mention ye ship because it was thy motion to me." (2.)

With the above came another letter, to be communicated to the Indians. It is too long for us to give entire, and from the interest it possesses omit a portion with reluctance. How much it is imbued with the benevolent spirit of the great Founder, and characteristic of the honorable motives which actuated him in his dealings with them!

"London, 18th of 8th mo., 1681.

"My Friends:—There is one great God and power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I, and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world; this great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and to do good to one another, and not to do harm and mischief one to another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your parts of the world, and the King of the country where I live hath given into me a great province, but I do desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and good friends, else what would the great God say to us, who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another, but live soberly and kindly together in the world? I shall shortly

come to you myself, at what time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the meantime, I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive these presents and tokens which I have sent to you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably and friendly with you.

I am your loving friend,

WILLIAM PENN."

Markham had not left England three months before Penn appointed three Commissioners, who were to proceed to Pennsylvania, and with whom they were to act in settling the colony. The original Instructions to the aforesaid are now in possession of the Historical Society, who have lately had it framed. It was found amongst the Hamilton papers at the Woodlands. The last two lines and signature are in the handwriting of the Proprietary. As they are of some length, I will avail myself only of that portion that relates to the Indians. They are dated "30th of 7 ber, 1681," and addressed "To my Trusty and loving Friends, William Crispin, John Bezar and Nathaniel Allen, my Commissioners for the settling of the present Colony this year transported into ye said Province."

"Be tender of offending the Indians, and harken by honest Spyes, if you can hear yt anybody inveigles ye

Indians not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the vallue upon you. You cannot want those yt will inform you, but to sofften them to mee and the people, let them know yt you are come to sit down Lovingly among them. Let my Letter and Conditions with my Purchasers about just dealing with them be read in their Tongue, that they may see wee have their good in our eye, equall with our own Interest, and after reading my Letter and ye said Conditions, then present their Kings with what I send them, and make a Friendshipp with them according to those Conditions, wh carefully observe, and get them to comply with you; be Grave they love not to be smiled on. From time to time in my Name and for my use buy Land of them, where any justly pretend, for they will sell one another's, if you be not Carefull, that such as buy and come after these Adventurers may have Land ready, but by no means sell any Land till I come, allow no old Patents, they have forfeited them by not planting according to the Law of the place and it cost mee too dear to allow such old Storyes, rather than fail offer them the Patent Charge, and where Survey'd the Survey money, but this is understood only of unplanted places only."

By two deeds, dated July 15th and August 1st, 1682, Markham purchased for Penn a considerable tract of land from the Indians, situated on the west side of the Delaware river, for some distance above and below the Falls. This business, it appears, was concluded

at the house of Capt. Lasse Cock. The first was granted by twelve "Indyane Sachamakers," as they are therein called. In the other, mention is made of "ye land called Soepassincks, and ye island of ye same name." Not long after, this constituted Pennsbury Manor, comprising 6558 acres, and on which Penn had his mansion erected, and where he dwelt for a considerable time while in this country. Both these purchases lay wholly within the limits of Bucks County, which was not established till in the following year. These deeds may be seen in the first volume of the Pennsylvania Archives.

Capt. Thomas Holme, a resident of Waterford, Ireland, was commissioned by Penn Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania, April 18th, 1682. He was to survey the whole of the province, for which purpose he reposed "special confidence" in his "integrity and ability." He embarked on the ship Amity, which left the Downs on the 23d, for America. He brought with him four children, John Claypoole, an assistant, and Silas Crispin, afterwards his son-in-law. Penn confided to Capt. Holme another letter to the Indians, which he read to them through an interpreter. A fac-simile of the original is framed at the Historical Society, presented by the late Benjamin Ferris, of Wilmington, in 1842. The following is copied from the same:

"The great God, who is the power and wisdom that made you and me, incline your hearts to righteousness,

love, and peace. This I send to assure you of my love, and to desire your love to my friends, and when the great God brings me among you, I intend to order all things in such a manner that we may all live in love and peace one with another, which I hope the great God will incline both me and you to do. I seek nothing but the honour of His name, and that we, who are His workmanship, may do that which is well pleasing to Him. The man which delivers this unto you is my special friend, sober, wise, and loving; you may believe him. I have already taken care that none of my people wrong you, by good laws I have provided for that purpose; nor will I ever allow any of my people to sell rum, to make your people drunk. If any thing should be out of order, expect, when I come, it shall be mended, and I will bring you some things of our country that are useful and pleasing to you. So I rest in the love of our God that made us.

I am your loving friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

ENGLAND, *21st of Second month, 1682.*

"I read this to the Indians by an interpreter, the Sixth month, 1682.—THOMAS HOLME."

It has been supposed that this was done at Shackamaxon, and a late discovery of a bill of charges made by Thomas Fairman against William Penn, for 1682, states, "To lodging Capt. Holme, his two sons and

two daughters, with their and his other friends' accommodations in the Proprietor's service, £50." This clearly establishes the fact at least that he resided for a time there. He has also a bill of £3, for horse hire for him and Markham and accompanying them to "Piahe Wickon," most probably as a guide. The Friends, we know by the Abington Records, held a meeting for worship at Fairman's house as early as Fourth month of this year. We thus find it a place of note several months before Penn's arrival.

Before we close this chapter, it may be worth while to state a few additional matters relative to this early period of the colony. In a letter sent from England, under date of 30th of 9th month, 1681, the writer mentions that "Ships come pretty often from New York, New Jersey, or Maryland, by one of which ways I believe, thou mayest send almost every month in the summer." This shows his opinion that communication between the two countries was now becoming more and more frequent.

The Swedes at this time had erected three houses of worship; one at Upland or Chester, one at Wicacoe, and one at Tinecum. The Friends held meetings at Upland, Shackamaxon, and at the Falls of Delaware. Ellis, in his Life of Penn, estimates the population of the Dutch, Swedes, and English residing within the patent on the arrival of Markham, at about three thousand. No mean number for the commencement

of a colony. Dixon compliments his Deputy-Governor as "an excellent choice. Bold, resolute, devoted to the proprietor," and that "he set about his work with equal zeal and discretion."

CHAPTER III.

PENN'S EXERTIONS FOR THE WELFARE AND PROSPERITY OF HIS PROVINCE.

As soon as he had received the grant of Pennsylvania, Penn set himself earnestly at work to carry out his plans and to promote the interests of the colony, which he was fully aware stood in need of fostering hands. Amongst the means adopted was to secure all the information he possibly could relating to the newly-acquired territory, from which he prepared a description, and had it published in a folio pamphlet of ten pages. We give its title followed by several extracts:

"Some Account of the Province of Pennsilvania in America; lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn, &c. Together with Privileges and Powers necessary to the well-governing thereof. Made publick for the Information of such as are or may be disposed to Transport themselves or servants into those Parts. London: Printed and sold by Benjamin Clark Bookseller in George-Yard, Lombard Street, 1681.

"Since (by the good providence of God) a country in America is fallen to my lot, I thought it not less

my duty than my honest interest to give some publick notice of it to the world; that those of our own, or other nations, that are inclined to transport themselves or families beyond the seas, may find another country added to their choice, that if they shall happen to like the places, conditions and constitutions (so far as the present infancy of things will allow us any prospect) they may, if they please, fix with me in the province hereafter described. But before I come to treat of my particular concernment, I shall take leave to say something of the benefit of plantations or colonies in general, to obviate a common objection. Colonies then are the seeds of nations begun and nourished by the care of wise and populous countries; as conceiving them best for the increase of humane stock, and beneficial for commerce.

"Of old time the nobility and gentry spent their estates in the country, and that kept the people in it; and their servants married and sate at easie rents under their masters' favour, which peopled the place; now the great men (too much loving the town, and resorting to London) draw many people thither to attend them, who either don't marry; or if they do, they pine away their small gains in some petty shop; for their are so many, they prey upon one another. The country being thus neglected, and no due balance kept between trade and husbandry, city and country, the poor countryman takes double toil, and cannot (for

want of hands) dress and manure his lands to the advantage it formerly yielded him, yet must he pay the old rents, which occasions servants, and such children as go not to trades, to continue single, at least all their youthful time; which also obstructs the increase of our people.

"The decay of some of our country manufacturers (where no provision is made to supply the people with a new way of living) causes the more industrious to go abroad to seek their bread in other countries, and gives the lazy an occasion to loiter and beg or do worse, by which means the land swarms with beggars: formerly it 'twas rare to find any asking alms but the maimed, or blind, or very aged; now thousands of both sexes run up and down, both city and country, that are sound and youthful, and able to work, with false pretences and certificates; nor is there any care taken to employ or deter such vagrants, which weakens the country, as to people and labour."

He gives therein a number of cogent reasons, very ingeniously expressed, showing how beneficial emigration would be to the mother country, to the colony, but above all to the emigrant. Treats in this new and inviting field of the great advantages conferred and encouragements offered, also of the many evils in old settled countries that prevail and arise from luxury, effeminacy and fashion or custom. Among the inducements held forth was the easy terms on which the

lands should be sold. Forty shillings sterling for one hundred acres, and one shilling per annum forever as quitrent.

"To conclude," he says, "I desire all my dear country-folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well as the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle, but from a solid mind; having, above all things, an eye to the providence of God, in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such, at least, to have the permission, if not the good liking, of their near relations; for that is both natural, and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this will natural affections be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence between them; in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us; that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours; and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us, and our posterity. Amen."

James Claypoole, in a letter dated the 26th of Second month, says in regard to his "judgment of Pennsylvania, I and many others wiser than I am, do very much approve of it, and do judge William Penn as fit a man as any in Europe, to plant a country." In relation to a paper that Penn had given him respecting the province, he remarks, "I would have some discourse

with him, but he was in such extreme haste to be gone." Respecting emigration, "there is great encouragement both as to the country and governor, who I believe, will establish good laws, as near as he can."

Lewis Morris, recently from Barbadoes, and an intimate friend of Penn, sent him a letter from New York, dated 3d of Fourth month, in which he says, "I was not a little rejoyced to read thine, but rest in some hopes that 'tis possible I may live to see thy Face in these Parts, especially since I have spoken with S. Jennings, who told me he judged thou hadst obtained a grant for the West part of the River Delaware, of which myself and all our Friends were glad to hear. I doubt not but Samuel will sufficiently encourage thee to press forward and perfect the Work of setling there as much as in thee lieth. I cannot but let thee know that I am in truth glad, and in my heart sensible of the great goodness of God to us in these Parts, in casting thy Lot amongst us for surely there will be great need of thee." Again, on the 25th of the same month, he says, "I received thy second Letter, and am very glad thy Lot is fallen amongst us; and do assure thee, that I think it the finest Piece or Tract of Land in all this North part of America."

He also prepared at this time "Certain Conditions, or Concessions," for "those who are adventurers and purchasers" in the said province. We take from the

same the following extracts, which are the more interesting as exhibiting his views in advance of his arrival:

"Great roads from City to City not to contain less than forty feet in breadth shall be first laid out and declared to be for highways before the dividend of acres be laid out for the purchaser, and the like observation to be had for the streets in the Towns and Cities, that there may be convenient roads and streets preserved not to be encroached upon by any planter or builder, that none may build irregularly to the damage of another. In this customs governs. Notwithstanding there be no mention made in the several deeds made to the purchasers, yet the said William Penn, does accord and declare, that all Rivers, Rivulets, Woods and Underwoods, Waters, Watercourses, Quarries, Mines and Minerals (except mines Royal), shall be freely and fully enjoyed and wholly by the purchasers into whose lot they shall fall.

"No man shall by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong an Indian, but he shall incur the same penalty of the Law, as if he had committed it against his fellow planters; and if any Indian shall abuse, in Word or Deed, any planter of this province, that he shall not be his own Judge upon the Indian, but he shall make his complaint to the Governor of the province, or his Lieutenant or Deputy, or some in-

ferior magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his power, take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the said injured planter. All differences between the Planters and the natives shall also be ended by Twelve men, that is by Six planters and Six natives, that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasions of Heart burnings and mischief. The Indians shall have liberty to do all things relating to improvement of their ground, and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the planters shall enjoy.

"All shall mark their hogs, sheep and other cattle, and what are not marked within three months after it is in their possession, be it young or old, it shall be forfeited to the Governor, that so people may be compelled to avoid the occasions of much strife between Planters. All ship masters shall give an account of their Countries, Names, Ships, Owners, Freights and Passengers, to an Officer to be appointed for that purpose, which shall be registered within Two days after their arrival; and if they shall refuse so to do that then none presume to trade with them, upon forfeiture thereof; and that such masters be looked upon as having an evil intention to the province."

In the preface to the Frame of Government he ingeniously observes: "I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies

have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government, that shall serve all places alike. I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, which are the rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common ideas of government, when men discourse on that subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three; any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to these laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy and confusion. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil to their turn."

He did not in his benevolence forget his friend, the celebrated George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, for in an indenture dated 20th of Eighth month, he granted to him 1250 acres to be located in Pennsylvania. "Yielding and paying therefore and during the term unto the said William Penn and his Heirs the Rent of one Pepper Corn onely if the same be lawfully demanded, on con-

sideration of five shillings in hand paid at the time of the agreement." In this instrument he is styled "George Fox of London, gentleman," and who was now in the 58th year of his age.

The Frame of Government was followed by a code of laws, forty in number, intended to be altered and amended by an Assembly in Pennsylvania, as was done the following year. In his penal code particularly, he was far in advance of his age; for instance, in England, at this very time, two hundred offences were punishable with death, he reserving this punishment only for one, which was for wilful murder. There were several great defects which were not in his power to remedy. He held his province as a fief from the crown, and of which he was made a feudal sovereign, yet governed it more satisfactorily while here than any of his Deputies.

According to said code, no taxes were to be collected but by law; in the courts, all persons might appear in their own way, and plead their own cause; all trials were to be by jury; no oaths to be required; all fines to be moderate; all prisons to be workhouses; all marriages to be published before solemnized, and to be solemnized by the parties taking one another as husband and wife, before witnesses, signing a certificate of the same, and having it recorded. The estates of felons were liable to make satisfaction to the family wronged to twice the value, and in default to such pay-

ment being made the felons to be bondsmen in the workhouse until the party injured be satisfied. All children of the age of twelve years to be taught some useful trade. Slanderers to be punished as enemies of the public peace.

All courts to be open, and justice to be neither sold, denied or delayed. All prisons to be workhouses for felons, vagrants, and loose and idle persons; of which one shall be in every county. All persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God, to be the Creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in concience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever. These laws were agreed upon and signed by Penn, the 5th of 3d mo. (May), 1682, and clearly show how far in justice and liberality he was in advance of an age distinguished for its sanguinary laws and religious intolerance.

At a meeting of the "Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania," held in London the 29th of 3d month, 1682; Nicholas More, a physician of London, was elected president for seven years, John Simcock, yeoman of Pennsylvania, deputy-president, and James Claypoole, merchant of London, treasurer. A com-

mittee of twelve were also chosen, to reside in the province; these were Thomas Brassy, Robert Turner, Thomas Holme, John Bezer, Fra. Plumstead, Griffith Jones, Antho. Elton, James Harrison, John Blumston, Isaac Martin, Walter King, and Wm. Haigue. A pamphlet was published by Benjamin Clark, "printer to the Society," this year, entitled; "The articles, settlement and offices of the Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania: agreed upon by divers merchants and others for the better improvement and government of trade in that province." The preface is dated "London 25th of 1st mo. called March, 1682;" and signed by Nicholas More, James Claypoole and James Ford, who appear to be the most conspicuous promoters in the enterprise.

The extraordinary industry so actively exhibited by Penn in various ways, for the advancement of his great undertaking, was seriously interrupted by the death of his mother in June of this year, to whom he was most tenderly attached, and by whose loss he was deeply affected. She was represented as an excellent woman, and in the many trials he encountered for his religious principles, had in her a ready sympathizer and counsellor. Clarkson says that he was so affected by the occurrence that it brought on an illness of several days duration. This lady was Margaret, the daughter of John Jasper, a native of Rotterdam, where the latter was a merchant. Pepys describes her as "a well-

looked, but short old Dutch woman, but one that hath been heretofore pretty handsome, and believe hath more wit than her husband." My friend, Dr. James J. Levick, in a late address on William Penn (see Phila. *Public Ledger*, Oct. 29th, 1887), remarks, "Unless we attribute it to a special Divine interposition I can account for it in no other way than by the fact that the wife of Sir William Penn and the mother of his boy came of that quiet, thoughtfully earnest race who have made Holland a garden spot, and the purity of whose domestic life has been recognized for generations. Each year of my life I am the more convinced of the influence of heredity in determining the character of the offspring. Had Sir William Penn chosen his wife from the giddy creatures of the court of Charles, or even from among the English women of what was his own station in early manhood, I fear that William Penn, as the founder of a great, peaceful commonwealth, would have been unknown to history."

To encourage emigration still further, Penn prepared another work on his colony, which appeared in a small octavo pamphlet of eighteen pages, with the following title: "Plantation Work, the Work of this Generation. Written in True-Love To all such as are weightily inclined to Transplant themselves and Families to any of the English Plantations in America. The Most material Doubts and Objections against it being removed, they may more cheerfully proceed to

the Glory and Renown of the God of the whole Earth, who in all Undertakings is to be looked unto, Praised and Feared for Ever. *Aspice venturo lætetur ut India Seclo.* London, Printed for Benjamin Clark in George-Yard in Lombard-street, 1682." Though published anonymously, mention is made on the first page that "W. Penn and his Friends are now engaged in these plantations." At page 3, it is stated, "England was once as rough and rugged as America, and the Inhabitants as blind and barbarous as the Indians." It contains also several letters addressed to Penn from America, of which we have gladly availed ourselves, as this work is but little known.

In a Discourse by William Rawle before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, delivered Nov. 5th, 1825, we find the following high compliment to such labors: "The first colonists were invited in Europe by William Penn, in the most fair and candid manner, to become not conquerors but cultivators of the soil; to conciliate not to extirpate the natives—to earn their bread by labour, not to acquire wealth by the prodigality of chance, the pursuit of precious metals, or by reducing the helpless natives to slavery. They felt no disappointment when they found, that woods were to be prostrated, cabins to be erected, the earth to be opened, and its slow returns received, before subsistence was obtained. They relied on the smiles of a gracious Providence, but they knew that His aid is only granted

to those who exert all their own faculties to help themselves."

Janney, not without strong reason, in his Biography remarks: "Is not the superiority of Penn's frame of government to be attributed to the peculiar influence of his religious associations? He was united in fellowship with a people whose principles and practice were essentially democratic; they acknowledged no distinction of clergy or laity; they placed a low estimate on hereditary rank, and they laid the foundation of their church discipline on the supremacy of that divine principle in man which leads to equality of rights and universal fraternity." These exertions of Penn were not unavailing, they have left their impress on the age, and their influences have been extending.

CHAPTER IV.

PENN'S DEPARTURE AND ARRIVAL IN AMERICA.

[*August–October 24, 1682.*]

A YEAR and a half had now nearly passed since Penn received his charter, and a few months less when Markham started for the distant colony. All hopes for a year or two at reform in Parliament vanished, and, as a consequence, bigotry and tyranny prevailed the more, which was an additional incentive for Friends to seek an asylum in the wilds of the New World for the enjoyment of that freedom which was denied them at home, and for which they had so long been persecuted for conscience' sake. No wonder that Penn bent all his energies to the noble work on which he was engaged, and endeavored to execute that abroad which was found impracticable in the land of his birth. Our greatest admiration is, that he was ever permitted, under the circumstances, to carry out the realization of his darling schemes, however distant. That he achieved this in our opinion is one of his greatest triumphs, though scarcely dwelt on by his biographers.

After having made the most necessary arrangements in his business affairs, with a view to his absence in

America, he engaged passage in the ship *Welcome*, of three hundred tons burthen, Robert Greenaway, master. Shortly after he prepared at his house in Worminghurst, Sussex, a beautiful, instructive and affecting letter by way of counsel, addressed to his wife and children, dated the 4th of Sixth month, 1682; and from which we take the following extracts:

"My dear Wife and Children:—My love, which neither sea, nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lesson toward you, most endearedly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever; and may the God of my life watch over you and bless you, and do you good in this world and for ever!—Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in the world.

"My dear wife! remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life; the most beloved, as well as the most worthy of all my earthly comforts: and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet are many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world,

take my counsel unto thy bosom and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

"Cast up thy income, and see what it daily amounts to: by which thou mayst be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass: and beseech thee to live low and sparingly till my debts are paid; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother's example, when thy father's public-spiritedness had worsted his estate (which is my case.) I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world—a nobility natural to thee. I write, not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be more vigilant herein; knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in saying of thy fathers, 'I desire not riches, but to owe nothing;' and truly that is wealth, and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee to be humble, for thou art so; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition but I pray thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships.

"I choose not they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourse beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there: a country life and estate I like best for my children. Next be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good

name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding—qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it."

We may well judge the feelings under which the above was written, not knowing when he would return or whether he should indeed ever see them again. He embarked at Deal in company with several friends, and on the 30th he addressed from the Downs, "A salutation to all Faithful Friends in England." Over one hundred passengers went on board, a portion of whom were from Sussex and Yorkshire, and nearly all belonging to the Society of Friends. On or about September 1st the vessel weighed anchor, and under a light breeze stood out to sea, and those on deck could observe the Foreland and Dover Castle fading in the distance, the last glimpse of their native land.

It may be well at this place in our labors to give a list of those who accompanied the great Founder in this his first voyage across the broad Atlantic. Many of these have numerous descendants and amongst the best citizens of our land, and to whom it will possess an especial interest. My friends, Wm. F. Corbitt and Dr. E. D. Buckman, of Philadelphia, have given the matter particular attention, and we are greatly indebted

to them for assistance in preparing the following list, which is believed to be nearly complete, and will be found to differ somewhat from those published, owing to a more recent and fuller investigation of authorities:

PASSENGERS IN THE "WELCOME."

William Penn, John Barber and wife Elizabeth; Wm. Buckman, wife Mary, children Sarah and Mary and sister Ruth Buckman; John Carver and wife Mary; Benjamin Chambers, Thos. Croasdale, wife Agnes and six children; Ellen Cowgill, a widow, and five children; John Fisher, wife Margaret and son John; Thos. Fitzwater, wife Mary and children Thomas, George, Josiah and Mary and John Otley, his servant; Thomas Gillett, Cuthbert Hayhurst, wife and children; Thomas Heriot, Wm. Hayhurst, John Hey, Richard Ingels, Isaac Ingram, Giles Knight, wife Mary and son Joseph; Wm. Lushington, Hannah Mogridge, Joshua Morris, David Ogden and two sisters; Evan Oliver, wife Jean and seven children; John Rowland and wife Priscilla, Thos. Rowland, John Songhurst, Thomas Stackhouse and wife Margery; George Thompson; Richard Townsend, wife Anne and children James and Anne; William Wade; Thos. Walmsley, wife Elizabeth and six children; Nicholas Waln, wife and three children; Joseph Woodroofe; Thos. Wigglesworth and wife; Thomas Wynne and wife Elizabeth; Jane

and Margery Maud, daughters of Elizabeth Wynne; Bartholomew Green; Nathaniel Harrison; Thomas Jones; Jean Mathews; Dennis Rochford, wife Mary and daughters Grace and Mary; William Smith.

The aforesaid list contains a mention of one hundred and two persons, besides several children, and it is possible that Penn was accompanied by one or more servants. To the Records of Middletown Monthly Meeting, Bucks County, we are chiefly indebted for the information respecting Thomas Croasdale, Cuthbert Hayhurst, Wm. Hayhurst, Thos. Stackhouse, Thos. Walmsley, Nicholas Waln and Thomas Wigglesworth, who, with their families, originally settled there.

We may well suppose, as the goodly ship *Welcome* sped on her way for the distant shores of America, with what anxious hopes Friends in England must have watched her departure, for on Penn and his colony chiefly depended the expectations of their society. However bright the anticipations of those on board in the beginning, sickness and sorrow soon saddened their hopes. That terrible malady, the small-pox, appeared, at first in a mild form, but developed itself more and more as the voyage continued, till at last nearly all were attacked, and the deaths alarmingly increased.

Richard Townsend, one of the passengers, in his Testimony, says, "I went aboard the *Welcome* in company with my worthy friend William Penn, whose good conversation was very advantageous to all the

company. His singular care was manifested in contributing to the necessities of many who were sick on board of small-pox, of whom as many as thirty died. After a prosperous passage of two months, having had in that time many good meetings on board, we arrived there." James Claypoole, a merchant of London, in a letter to Robert Turner, dated the 9th of 11th month, in which he says, he had heard that "thirty-one friends" had died in "William Penn's ship of the small-pox." Being upwards of one-fourth the entire number.

From the crowded condition of the vessel, it was impossible to prevent contagion spreading, but by all possible care, attention and medicines on the part of those most able, much was done to ameliorate the condition of the sufferers, and keep the malady under. As we see, Penn nobly exerted himself in their behalf, and contributed liberally whatever was needed from his own stores. Need we wonder, under such circumstances, that they hailed with joy their first glimpse of the low-wooded shores of the Delaware as a timely deliverance from the dread monster that was destroying them. The horrors of the passage were long retained in the recollections of the survivors and of their descendants. Of those that died, the following names have been ascertained: John Barber, Mary, wife of Thos. Fitzwater, and children Josiah and Mary, Thomas Heriott, Isaac Ingram, William Wade, and Grace and Mary, the daughters of Dennis Rochford.

Penn had a fondness for horses, and Dixon states that in this voyage he brought over three blooded mares, a fine white horse, and other inferior animals for labor. His inquiries afterwards concerning the mares were as frequent and minute as those about the gardens.

After having been at sea about fifty-four days, on the 24th of October (8th mo.), they arrived in sight of the Capes, and the vessel stood up the bay. Eager excitement was now on board, with impatient longings to be speedily delivered from the endurance of confined quarters and a dangerous disease. Not three days more, and they were to set their feet for the first time on the soil of the newly-acquired territory.

CHAPTER V.

THE LANDING AT NEW CASTLE, UPLAND AND PHILADELPHIA.

[*Oct. 27–Nov., 1682.*]

On the 27th of October, the *Welcome* arrived before the town of New Castle, in Delaware, and it is likely that Penn and several of his companions at once proceeded on shore to visit some of the principal inhabitants, and make known his most important business. In the forenoon of the next day a meeting was held, when he made an address to the magistrates and others, in which he explained to them the nature of his government, his designs in coming and what he expected to accomplish. He produced the two deeds of feoffment executed to him August 24th, 1682, by James, Duke of York and Albany. One for this town of New Castle and twelve miles about it, and the other for the two lower counties, the Whorekills and St. Jones's. By virtue of the power conferred in these instruments he now demanded possession of the same from John Moll, Esq., and Ephraim Herman, constituted attorneys by his Royal Highness. According to the usual form, these gentlemen delivered unto him "the fort of said

town, and leaving the said William Penn in quiet and peaceable possession thereof, and also by the delivery of turf and twig, and water and soyle of the River Delaware."

Having received written pledges of fidelity and obedience to him and his government, he at once commissioned John Moll, Peter Aldricks, Johannes de Haes, William Simple, Arnoldus de la Grange, Justices of the Peace, and a Court of Judicature, for the town of New Castle. His Deputy Markham he appointed his attorney to receive from Moll and Herman possession of the counties below New Castle, which was accomplished a few days afterwards. Having received the formality of quiet possession, and the requisite business despatched, Penn without delay went on board the *Welcome*, and under a favoring breeze on the afternoon of the same day the passage of near twenty miles was soon made, and he arrived at Upland, a seat of judicature, and the most populous place in his province. That Penn arrived here on this day we have the authority of Evan Oliver, one of the passengers, who says, in a manuscript book, "We came out of Radnorshire in Wales, about ye beginning of ye 6 mo '82, and arrived at Upland in Pensilvania in America, ye 28 of ye 8 month, '82."—From a letter by Benjamin Ferris to Edward Armstrong, dated Twelfth month 31, 1851, and now in the possession of the Historical Society.

On the following day ("29th 8ber") he dated from here two letters. The first is directed to Ephraim Herman, in which he says, "With my love, this is to desire thee to despatch away a messenger, upon receipt hereof, with the enclosed letters, to several persons and places they are directed to, that so they may be at New Castle, at the court, the 2d of of 9th month, in which thou wilt oblige thy loving and true friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

By way of postscript adds, "Direct the enclosed letters and seal them. I will pay the messenger." He here refers to the following, addressed separately to Wm. Darval, Francis Whitewell, John Hillyard, Robert Starr and John Briggs, and which, from the shortness of the time, now required despatch in their delivery:

"Thes are to desire you to meet me at New Castle, next Thursday, (so called,) being ye 2d of November, where I shall hold a General Court for the settlement of the Jurisdiction of thes and your parts, and in so doing you will oblige,

"Your Loving Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

And adds, "if, there be any persons of note, or others, yt desire to come, they may freely do it, and this pray signify."

Upland, distinguished as the place of Penn's first landing in the province, may deserve some further notice. It was founded by the Swedes, and known by this name as early as 1648, and is said to have been so called after a province in Sweden on the Gulf of Bothnia, but its Indian name was Mecopanaca. Robert Wade, a Friend from England, who had suffered there for his religion, had settled here as early as 1675, when the first Meetings of Friends in the colony were held at his house, which was visited the same year by William Edmundson, as mentioned in his journal. It stood on a beautiful rising ground on the west side of Chester Creek, but near its mouth, where he had a landing place. At his house, too, the Friends "belonging to Marcus Hooke and Upland" held their first Monthly Meeting the 10th of 11th Month, 1681; which is the date of their earliest records. A court had been held in the place for some time, and a prison built for offenders.

No doubt, on landing, Penn proceeded to the house of Robert Wade, the hospitable Friend, and attended on this day (the 29th was First-day) one of the Meetings for worship which had now been held here for upwards of seven years. As regards changing the name of Upland to Chester, the Proprietary has been rather sharply criticised. All this appears to rest on the authority of Clarkson, in a work, published at London in 1813, that contains numerous errors. Those who have

given especial attention to the matter say that they cannot find evidence of any person by the name of Pearson being a passenger in the *Welcome*. This will, at least in part, explain that it was not done in "a mere whim," by "caprice," or any exhibition of undue vanity, and which it is time should, at least, be questioned, if not exposed.

According to notice given, Penn was present at the Court held at New Castle on November 2d, being the fifth day of the week. There was also in attendance his Deputy, Markham, the Mayor, Thomas Holme, William Haigue, John Simcock, and Thomas Brazie of the Council, and John Moll, John de Haes, William Simpell, Arnoldus de la Grange, and John Cann, Justices. The proceedings were opened in the name of "Our sovereign Lord, King Charles II., etc., and by the commissioned appointment of William Penn, Esq., Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania." At its close, Penn stated that if any person had requests or petitions to present to him, he desired it done now, for an answer at their next meeting. The Court then adjourned till the "First Tuesday of December next."

It is related on the authority of tradition, that from Upland Penn went with several of his friends in an open boat or barge to the site of Philadelphia. If this was the case, he may have returned from the Court at New Castle by land, unless the former mode of conveyance had been used by him the whole distance.

Near a high, bold shore, covered with lofty pines and called Coaquannock, they entered Dock creek, a small stream, deep at its mouth, with a low, sandy beach, where they landed, and the Proprietary and his companions went on shore near a house then building by George Guest on Front Street, and afterwards known as the "Blue Anchor Tavern." He was so pleased with the conveniences of the spot, that he reserved it for a public landing-place in the original city charter.

The time of his arrival here is thus noted in the Minutes of Abington Records: "At a Monthly Meeting the 8th of 9th month, 1682: At this time Governor William Penn, and a multitude of Friends arrived here, and erected a city called Philadelphia, about half a mile from Shackamaxon, where meetings were established. Thomas Fairman at the request of the Governor, removed himself and family to Tacony, where there was also a meeting appointed to be kept, and the ancient meeting of Sackamaxon removed to Philadelphia, from which meeting, also, other meetings were appointed in the province of Pennsylvania."

The cause of Fairman removing was, that Penn had now engaged his house, as we learn from his "bill of charges" for 1682, in which he says, "To leaving my house in the winter season for the Proprietor's use." He also mentions therein several journeys made with Penn, and for supplying him with horses. There is one for "taking the courses of Schuylkill above the

town," one "to Senew Sickon," one "to Umbolekemensin," and another "to search out a swamp for the Societies tannery." That he was at least nearly two years here before Penn's arrival we have certain evidence from the Marriage Records of Burlington Monthly Meeting, wherein it is stated that "Thomas Fairman of Shackamaxon on ye river Delaware," was married to Elizabeth Kinsey the 24th of 10th month, 1680, at the house of John Woolston in Burlington.

The aforesaid mention of Philadelphia in the Abington Minutes is the earliest known to us of the name, and appears not to have been given to it till after the arrival of Penn. No doubt it was applied by him after that of a city in Lydia, Asia Minor, the seat of one of the seven early Christian churches. Its signification, *brotherly love*, coincided with his principles, and therefore commended it to his judgment.

The site of the city had been determined by three commissioners, appointed September 30th, 1681; sent out in advance of his arrival, and acting under his instructions. No doubt, under their direction, Thomas Holme, the surveyor-general, with the assistance of Thomas Fairman, had already made some progress in laying out the streets, and several buildings may have been erected. Afterwards, Penn made several changes in the location and names of the streets. It was contemplated in the original plan to allow no buildings to be erected near the banks of the river, and to have

there a broad avenue along the entire length of the city. This salutary and beautiful arrangement in time was permitted to be infringed, and to this cause can be attributed the narrow and irregular streets that discommode its eastern front.

As Penn had determined on calling a meeting of the Assembly at Upland, now called Chester, on the 4th of the following month, and to which his presence as proprietary and governor would be required, he concluded in the interval to avail himself of a trip to New York, in order "to pay his duty to the Duke of York in visiting his province." At what time he set out in this month and the period of his absence is not known. Our information respecting the same is chiefly derived from a letter dated at Chester, 29th of 10th month, in which he says, "I have been also at New York, Long Island, East Jersey and Maryland; in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord." It seems to have been chiefly made on a religious account, visiting Friends' Meetings, and extending the circle of his acquaintance. In this journey it is likely he proceeded by boat to Burlington, or the Falls, thence by horseback overland to New York. It may have been then that he fixed upon the site of his mansion in Pennsbury Manor, which was on his way between Burlington and the Falls, on the west side of the river.

About this time he must have held his great treaty

of amity with the Indians, and to which he had reference in his letter to them, dated "London, 18th of 8th month, 1681," wherein he says, "I shall shortly come to you myself, at what time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse on these matters;" meaning the harmony and friendship that should exist between them and himself and his people. As stated, he had now taken up his abode for awhile at Fairman's mansion at Shackamaxon, and it looks as if the journeys made by him and Fairman on horseback to "Senew Sickon" and "Umbolekemensin," were expressly for the purpose of engaging and drawing the Indians together in a general council.

I have faith in the great treaty, held at Shackamaxon under the elm, for the same reasons and authority that Thomas Holme had read there the Proprietary's letter through an interpreter in August previous.* The great belt of wampum, given by the Indians to Penn, is another evidence, and which by him was ever after highly regarded. This was presented to the Historical Society by his great-grandson, Granville John Penn, from England, April 13th, 1851. It is composed of eighteen strings of wampum woven together into a belt, six inches wide and twenty-six inches in length. In the centre is a representation of a man with a hat on, holding another by the hand. I would ask, What does this signify but amity or

* See Penn's letter to the Indians in Chapter II.

friendship performed in deeds of peace? Such a one it is not likely would have been given at any purchase of lands; according to the Indian idea it would not have been appropriate, and such are my views. On this subject the imagination of Clarkson has been so extravagant, and a few others, that we do not wonder that faith in the great treaty has been impaired.

The great elm, or Treaty Tree, stood till the year 1810, when it was blown down. It was 24 feet in girth, and believed to be 280 years old, making its age at the time of the treaty 152 years; sufficient to have been then a large tree adapted to the purpose. A scion of it is growing vigorously, and is now a fair-sized tree on the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital. On the site of the treaty, the Penn Society erected, several years ago, a small monument with appropriate inscriptions, in commemoration of the spot. Watson, in his Annals, relates that from the time of Penn down to the present day, tradition among the Indians, as well as the inhabitants of Philadelphia, has been uniform in designating the elm tree at Kensington as the spot where the great treaty was held; and so confidently was this believed during the Revolution that the British General Simcoe, when his troops occupied the town, placed a guard around the venerated tree to protect it from injury, as, from the need they had for fuel, it otherwise might have been destroyed.

The name Shackamaxon, or, in old records, Sacha-

maxing, in the Delaware language signifies the Place of Kings; Sakema or Sachem being the name for a king or chief. From the Penn Papers we learn that our distinguished countryman, Benjamin West, was employed by the Penn family, in 1773, to paint the original historical picture of the treaty of 1682, and for which he received £420. It was purchased by the late Joseph Harrison, of Philadelphia, from Granville John Penn, in England, in 1851, for £500, and may now be seen in the City Museum in the State House. The Historical Society has, framed, a handsome painting of the Treaty Tree, presented by the late Cephas G. Child, made from a drawing taken on the spot by J. J. Barralet, a few years before it was blown down, also showing the regard in which it was held.

Penn was at Upland on the 28th of 9th month, we know from a letter he addressed to Markham, at New Castle, and from which we also learn that the *Welcome* had just departed on her return to England. It is probable that it has never before been published, having been copied from the original. (2.)

"Upland, ye 28, 9br, 1682.

Cousin Markham. Upon receipt hereof dispatch ye Messenger to ye Counties of St. Jones and Whorekills, alias New Deal, with a letter to ye Deputies in which inclose ye inclosed severally. Be sure it is a trusty Person that can compass ye business, which

done, dispatch hitherto immediately, leaving John Moll or Peter Aldricks deputy in the room. If Robert Greenway be not past that sd port, I would willingly bespeak with him; having received a letter out of Maryland yt concerns Freight of a ship. Pray, let all ships clear at New Castle, ye River now being mine, in wch be civil to ye Commanders and for this year yt nothing be taken of ym. His horse yt brings ye bearer is to go with Tho. Hudson to Barbadoes if he be there, remember my love to him. Thy Loving frd and kinsman,

"WM. PENN."

In this month, as we learn from one of James Claypoole's letters, Nicholas More, President of the Society of Free Traders, with sixty or seventy servants, and numerous other passengers, arrived here in only twenty-nine days from England. Another ship came about the same time, equally fortunate in having so short a trip.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST ASSEMBLY.—LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.—CONFERENCE WITH LORD BALTIMORE.

[*Dec. and Jan., 1682.*]

FROM notice given the previous month by the Proprietary and Governor to the several Sheriffs to summon all freeholders in their respective districts to meet and elect from amongst themselves "persons of most note for wisdom, sobriety, and integrity, to serve as their deputies and representatives in general assembly, to be held at Upland, Pennsylvania, December 4th next, and then and there to consult with him for the common good of the inhabitants of that province and adjacent counties of New Castle, St. Jones, and Whorekill, alias Deal," and of the result to make him a true return.

Accordingly the several members chosen, duly met agreeably to proclamation at the time and place mentioned. From the minutes it is ascertained that amongst those present was Christopher Taylor from Bucks, Nicholas More from Philadelphia, John Simcock from Chester, William Clark from Deal, Francis Whitwell from Jones's, and the names of Griffith Jones,

Luke Watson, William Sample, William Yardley, Thomas Brassy, John Briggs, and Ralph Wethers are mentioned the first day as being on committees. Nicholas More was appointed the following day president of the body.

On the fourth day of meeting, this first General Assembly of Pennsylvania distinguished itself by passing the "Great Law," so celebrated for its remarkable provision relating to liberty of conscience. The portions relating thereto we extract:

"WHEREAS, the glory of Almighty God, and the good of mankind, is the reason and end of government, and therefore government, in itself, is a venerable ordinance of God; and for as much as it is principally desired and intended by the proprietary and governor, and the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christians and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious, and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due from tyranny and oppression of the one side, and insolency and licentiousness of the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid for the present and future happiness of both the governor and people of this province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity. Be it therefore enacted, by William Penn, proprietary and governor, by and with the advice and consent of the

deputies of the freemen of this province and counties aforesaid, in assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that these following chapters and paragraps shall be the laws of Pennsylvania and the territories thereof.

"Almighty God being only Lord of conscience, father of lights and spirits, and the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith and worship, who only can enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understanding of people, in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind. It is enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person now or at any time hereafter living in the province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that professeth him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government, shall in anywise be molested or prejudiced for his or her concientious persuasion or practice, nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, or ministry whatever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection; and if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice in matter of religion, such shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace, and be punished accordingly."

According to the great work done, the legislature was to consist of two houses, the members of which were to be elected by the freemen of the province. The upper house to be composed of three members from each county and to be called the "Provincial Council," The lower house to be composed of six members from each county, "men of most note for their virtue, wisdom and ability." This was Penn's idea of what should constitute the qualification essential to a legislator, and that it has not been retained in our statutes is a step backwards, to be regretted.

The executive authority was vested in the governor and council, who were charged with the execution of the laws, the care of the public peace, the establishment and order of public schools, instituting courts of justice, &c., &c. Every freeman of the province was to be entitled to a vote, and all the laws relating to raising revenue and other purposes to be enacted by the representatives of the people. The estates of aliens were to descend to their legal representatives like those of citizens, and all the settlers had the liberty to fish, fowl and hunt, without restriction on their own lands, and on all not enclosed. The Proprietary as chief lord of the fee or as governor reserved no especial privileges. These briefly enumerated rights with the liberty of conscience allowed was a great step in advance over the existing laws of the parent country.

Among the acts passed, was the following given

literally, requiring the year to commence with March as the first month: "And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid that ye day of ye week and ye months of ye year, Shall be called as in Scripture, and not by Heathen names, (as are vulgarly used,) as ye first, Second and Third daies of ye week, and first, Second and Third of ye year, beginning with ye day called Sunday and ye month called March."

An Act of Union was also passed for annexing and uniting the counties of New Castle, Jones's, and Whorekill, alias Deal, to the province of Pennsylvania and including the naturalization of all foreigners residing within the aforesaid counties and province. This was probably brought about in justice to the Swedes, Finns and Dutch, who, a few days before, had presented a petition to Penn requesting that he would be pleased to make them as free by the laws as any others, and that also their lands may be entailed on them and their heirs for ever. The aforesaid was signed by the Governor as done at "Chester alias Upland" on the 7th of 10th month 1682. This is the earliest mention found in any document of the place being called Chester. Clarkson states that the change was made at the time of arrival, forty days previously.

Penn was now to make good what he had promised to "the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania;" in a letter to be read to them by his Deputy Markham, dated "London 8th of ye month call'd Aprill, 1681;" only thirty-four days after he had received his grant. "You shall

be governed by the laws of your own making, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me the grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men, can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with."

The Assembly being over, with his usual activity, Penn set out on the 11th for Maryland to meet Lord Baltimore for the purpose of entering into a negotiation respecting the boundaries between the two provinces. For this purpose he had sent two messengers, soon after his arrival, preparatory to a conference with the latter. They met at the hospitable mansion of Col. Thomas Taylor near West River in Annarundel county on the 19th, the time agreed upon. Penn was accompanied by the Council and Lord Baltimore, by a considerable retinue of the principal persons in his province. The illustrious visitors had a spirited debate over the matters in dispute, which continued, however, with courtesy and kindness for three days without arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. Owing to the inclemency of the season, the business was deferred with an understanding to meet again in the following spring. In a letter to the Lords of Plantations, Penn, says his lordship "took occasion by his civilities to show him the greatness of his power." It is probable that he crossed the Bay on his return,

for he attended a religious meeting at the Choptank on the Eastern shore, and one or two others in that vicinity.

About this time the province had been divided into three counties, Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester, and the territories into New Castle, Jones and Whorekill alias Deal. On the 25th Jones was changed to Kent and Deal to Sussex, names they continue to bear, and which is rather unusual in so long an interval, all three retaining the same boundaries. Penn also directed that Cape Henlopen be called Cape James, after his kind friend the Duke of York; which was afterwards prevented from going into effect by the accession of William III, prince of Orange.

It would appear after Penn's return from Maryland, he continued at Chester, where he dated a letter to a friend on the 29th, in which he says.—"I bless the Lord I am very well, and much satisfied with my place and portion; yet busy having much to do to please all, and yet to have an eye to those that are not here to please themselves." He also mentions of having "had good and eminent service for the Lord" in his late visit to Maryland and elsewhere. Of twenty-three ships that arrived in his province none miscarried, and only two or three of which had the small-pox on board. Several had made the passage in twenty-eight days, and few longer than six weeks. Lord Culpepper sent him a friendly letter on the 23d from Green Spring, Virginia, in which he says, "I con-

gratulate your arrival into your new dominion, where I hope things will answer your expectations, and that you may have all success and prosperity therein, are the wishes of your affectionate humble servant."

About this time Penn wrote a letter which has neither address or date, probably to the Earl of Clarendon or Sunderland, as "My noble friend" is at the beginning. It has been published in the Memoirs (vol. IV, p. 177-8) of the Historical Society, from which we take the following extract:

"I thank God I came well in six weeks time, find the land good, the air sweet and serene, the provision divers and excellent in its kind—beef, mutton, veal, pork, all sorts of admirable fowl, good venison, bread, butter, beer and cider, not inferior to England, and of these things great plenty and cheap. There seems to me no want, but of industrious and ingenious people, to render these parts at least equal to the best reputed places of Europe. I shall have that regard to the honour and advantage of the Crown, as well for private profit in the guidance and improvement of this Plantation, that I hope by God's assistance in seven years, to be able to come into the scale against plantations of forty years standing. God Almighty recompense to thee thy many kindnesses to me and mine."

This shows that he entertained a high opinion of the country, and full confidence in the prosperity of his province.

James Claypoole, in a letter dated London, 9th of

11th month, 1682, and addressed to his friend, Robert Turner, of Dublin, thus alludes to the new colony: "As for any news from Pensilvania we have of late none but good, there had been twenty-one ships arrived last summer in Delaware, and the country is very well liked for pleasantness by the people. Wm. Penn was well and things was like to be settled to content and was received with a great deal of love and respect and had held a Court in Pensilvania and was gone to hold another at New Castle, and there also the people readily subjected to him and there was like to be a good understanding and a fair settlement of the bounds between Baltimore and him." Again, in another letter of the 16th, addressed to his brother, Edward Claypoole, he hopefully mentions that "here have come letters from Wm. Penn above a month since that he was well in health and was settling the country and they had begun to build a city which they call Philadelphia, and there had been that summer twenty-one sail ships arrived there with passengers." This confirms the fact that Philadelphia was named here and so called at least as early as the beginning of the previous month, making it about three weeks later than the Abington Minutes.

CHAPTER VII.

PENN'S CORRESPONDENCE.—EVIL REPORTS CONCERNING HIM.

[*February, 1682.*]

WITH his usual activity and industry, when the weather was too rigorous to be abroad, Penn engaged himself in an extensive correspondence relating to the affairs of the province and the interests of which he was so desirous of promoting. The most troublesome of all was the famous boundary dispute with Lord Baltimore. In the latter he had no mean opponent, one, perhaps, equally as devoted and zealous for his cause. This bone of contention, unfortunately, continued down nearly to the Revolution, and the tedious litigation involved in it cost the parties a great amount. From his letters it is quite probable that previous to March 10th, Penn had remained most of his time at Chester. It was still much the largest place in the province and where the greatest conveniences abounded. Philadelphia, the future metropolis, and now one of the great cities of the world, had only sprung into being within a few months, and must still be wanting in many of the comforts that are to be found in longer established communities.

Under date of Chester, 5th of 12th month, 1682, we find no less than three letters written by Penn, all of considerable length and of more than ordinary interest. The want of space compels us reluctantly to make extracts.

"I was very glad," he writes to Lord Culpepper, "to hear of thy arrival, not less that there was no need of it. Pray stay, and let us be the better for thy coming. There is more room for parts with less envy, as well as more need of them: and to be happy in solitude, is to live of a man's own, and to be less a debtor to the contributions of others. I am mightily taken with this part of the world: here is a great deal of nature, which is to be preferred to base art, and methinks that simplicity with enough, is gold to lacker, compared to European cunning. I like it so well, that a plentiful estate, and a great acquaintance on the other side have no charms to remove; my family being once fixed with me, and if no other thing occur, I am like to be an adopted American.

"Our province thrives with people, our next increase will be the fruit of their labour. Time, the maturer of things below will give the best account of this country. Our heads are dull, what fineness transplantation will give, I know not; but our hearts are good and our hands are strong. I hear thou intendest a progress into Maryland this summer. If this place deserve a share of it, all that I can command shall bid thee welcome. I am, thou knowest an unceremonious man;

but I profess myself a man of Christian decency, and besides, a relation by my wife, whose great grandmother, was thy great-aunt."

Thomas, the second Lord Culpepper, was one of the proprietors of Virginia, and had recently arrived there as governor of that colony, and this letter was sent in reply to one of December 23d last.

To Lord Hyde: "My Noble Friend, I humbly take this opportunity by a gentleman of Virginia, Colonel Hill, to pay my sincere respects, beseeching God to remember and retaliate to thee and thine the many favours I am indebted to thee. I thank God I am very well and the Province thrives. I hope the Crown will sensibly receive honour and credit, and profit by it. But humanely speaking, it will much depend upon the benign influence of thy power and goodness; and there I humbly leave it, as thence in a great measure I originally fetched it.

"In my last per a Maryland conveyance, I sent a letter with one to the Duke. The draught of the bounds is in my agent's hands, I most humbly pray thy favour in its despatch. The planters must resort to those two counties. The quitrent is a penny per acre, formerly little more than a farthing per acre. I have ordered two manors for the Duke, of ten thousand acres a piece and intend two more. Their value besides the quitrent, will be great in a few years.

"Pray let Pennsylvania furnish the King, the Duke and thyself, with beavers and otters for hats and muffs.

I have sent some of each accordingly. 'Tis the heart not the gift that gives acceptance."

Lord Hyde was the second son of the Earl of Clarendon, and held high offices under Charles, James and Queen Anne. He was esteemed an honorable man and regarded as a sincere friend to Penn.

Among the manuscripts of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is to be found a copy of an original letter of six compact pages, written by Penn at "Chester ye 5th, 12 mo. 1682;" and addressed to Jasper Yates, who had unfavorably reported him. The Governor here makes a vigorous defence and thrusts at him a most withering rebuke. A few lines of this letter are given in a Life of Penn with the remark that they were "addressed to a friend who had unduly reflected on him." An evident attempt to suppress the name. A biographer, like an artist, should not neglect the shadows in finishing his picture.

"The power," remarks Penn, "I have by Patent runs thus: That I and my Heirs, with the assent of the Freemen or their Deputies from time to time may make Laws, so as they be not repugnant to the Allegiance we owe to the king as Sovereign. This has been often flung at us, viz: If you Quakers had it in your power, none should have a part in the Government, but those of your own way. On the other hand, if all that are freemen may choose or be chosen Members of the Provincial Council and General Assembly, and that I and my Heir have only three

voices in two hundred and seventy-two in case they should outnumber us in vote we are gone, and this having been like to be done the last Assembly, in chusing of a Speaker. Friends carrying it but by one voice, and that through the absence of two of the other side that were not Friends. Several of them lamented that I have given so much power away as I have done. At least, till Truth's interest had been better settled, and desire me to accept of it again, saying that as God so signally cast it into my hand, and they believe for a purpose of Glory to his Name, and for the good of his People.

"I am day and night spending my life, my time, my money, and am not sixpence enriched by this greatness; costs in getting, settling, transportation and maintainance now in a public manner at my own charge duly considered, to say nothing of my hazard, and the distance I am from a considerable estate, and which is more, my dear wife and poor children. If Friends here keep to God, and in the justice, mercy, equity and fear of the Lord, their enemy will be their footstool. If not, their Heirs and my Heirs too will loose all, and desolation will follow.

"No, Jasper, Thy conceit is neither religious, political nor equal, and without high words, I disregard it as meddling, intruding and presumptous. So Jasper, desiring thou mayest act more righteously, than to smite the innocent behind his back and thy suffering Brother, too, and that in a wrong matter and upon a

false or an impossible ground, I take my leave and rest. Thy ancient though grieved Friend."

Jasper Yates, to whom this reply was made, came from Yorkshire, and had received a collegiate education and entered on the profession of the law. We learn from Martin's History of Chester that he was married to Catharine, daughter of James Sandeland, and became an extensive landholder there. He was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court from 1705 to 1715, and afterwards a member of the Council till the time of his death, about 1720. It is said that he was very active in having Chester made the seat of government, and his failure therein, which it is likely occurred at that time, may have been one of the causes that led to this difference with Penn. His speculations proved unfortunate.

Lord Baltimore on the 8th communicated to the Marquis of Halifax the account of his late conference with Penn respecting the boundaries, and of a previous one with Markham. He had also sent another in December, immediately after the meeting, in which he states that it was held "at the house of Colonel Thomas Tailler, in the Ridge, in Ann Arundell County." Copies of which have been preserved in the State Paper Office, London.

Under date of the 15th of this month, Penn addressed a note "For Capt. William Markham, Deputy Governor," who, it would appear, was still residing at New Castle, in which he says, "Inclosed is an answer

to the Justices below, but remember that the twelve must be chosen for the Provincial Council in pursuance of the writt, and after that, a petition to me that 3 A, B, C, should be for the Council and the other 9 for the Assembly, for 4 and 8 will not allow of a yearly rotation of ⅓, as 3 and 9, then the Council will be 18, a good number at present, and 54 for the Assembly. The 3d Article informs thee in the charter, let all that is done be the Act of the people and so it will be safe." (2.)

Although at a considerable distance from his family, home and intimate friends, and assiduously engaged here in promoting the great objects of his mission, namely, founding an asylum for the oppressed or persecuted of all nations; one would scarce think that such a one would be attacked abroad with all the power that malice and envy could suggest. The difficulties that beset him here, with those that arose in the accomplishment of his projects, were sufficient, nay, more than sufficient to weary the life of an ordinary mortal. Faith in the integrity of his principles alone must have sustained him amidst the trials and vicissitudes of an eventful career. In corroboration, we give extracts from a letter by George Hutcheson, dated "Sheffield, 17th of 12 mo. '82;" and addressed "To my esteemed ffriend William Penn at Buckingham in Pensilvania, in America." With this and occasionally others we have taken the liberty to modernize the phraseology.

"I can say in truth my heart is made glad and my very soul refreshed in the news that of late is come to hand, concerning thy safe arrival with the rest of our dear friends in America, and of the joyful reception of thee by the inhabitants, and more especially in that I understand that blessed power and precious life by which we have been quickened and raised up together. Methought I was with you in your first meetings after thou came to land, and in the court house and in measure partook of the joy of the wilderness and of that gladness; that it break forth of the solitary and desolate land as also with them who were once in a kind of despair, from living to see themselves visited by so many of their dear and elder brethern and to enjoy their society in those remote parts of the world.

"I have been concerned not a little, to vindicate thy reputation from slanderous and malicious tongues who had sent it throughout the nation that thou wast dead and a Jesuit, or had declared thyself upon thy death bed thou wast a Roman Catholic, it was not a few combats I had with persons to whom I said I knew thee better than to believe such ridiculous stories, or to heed them any more than a straw under my foot. Since Philip Ford searched and found out the author to be Thomas Hicks, of which I was glad, since it must have a father that it fell through the just judgment of God upon him. I got it at the coffee house where the slander had come from in the Gazette, I mean first

a copy of thy last letter and then the printed paper."

By Buckingham was probably meant Pennsbury, as Bucks county at first was occasionally so called, as may be noticed in the Colonial Records. In the following month we know meetings for worship were held there in the "Governor's house." There can probably be no other explanation given for this address.

To Dr. Smith's History of Delaware county (p. 143) we are indebted for the mode of attestation adopted for jurors the 22d of this month, as entered in the Court Records at New Castle. It mentions that the following form was to be used in the place of an oath as delivered in Court by "ye Honble William Penn, vizt:"

"You solemnly promise in the presence of God and this Court that you will justly try and deliver in your verdict in all cases depending, that shall be brought before you during this session of Court according to evidence and the laws of this government to the best of your understanding."

To the popular form he had conscientious scruples, hence the change which by his direction must have been introduced into all the other courts under the jurisdiction of his government.

CHAPTER VIII.

PENN'S FIRST MEETING IN COUNCIL AT PHILADELPHIA. —FRIENDS' MEETINGS.

[*March and April, 1683.*]

WE now enter into the new year beginning with March as the first month, which we have seen the Assembly recognized by an Act based on the prevailing custom of the parent country, and which remained in force till abolished by Parliament in 1752. Hence at that period the change of old to new style. Historians have deemed it best to use the same as they stand, as less liable to mistakes, and such are our own views from experience. The intelligent reader, therefore, should bear this in mind and a misunderstanding prevented.

The Governor held his first Council in Philadelphia on the 10th. Amongst those present were William Markham, Christopher Taylor, Thomas Holme, Lasse Cock, William Biles, James Harrison and John Richardson. The Sheriffs of the respective counties were present: John Test for Philadelphia, Thomas Usher for Chester, Richard Noble for Bucks, Edmund Cantwell for New Castle, Peter Bawcomb for Kent, and John Vines for Sussex.

On the 12th the Council met again and the Governor present. Nicholas More, President of the Society of Free Traders, was called before them for speaking in a public house against the Governor, Provincial Council and Assembly, for which he apologized. "However, his discourse being unreasonable and imprudent, he was exhorted to prevent the like in future." On this day the Assembly likewise met in Philadelphia, under a new election. It was agreed in conference with the Council on the following day "That Twelve makes a Quorum in all business relating to the former part of the fifth and sixth articles of the Charter."

The Council on the 14th resolved itself into a Grand Committee, Markham acting as Chairman in the absence of the Governor on urgent business. Penn was present the next day when it was "Ordered that John Richardson, one of the Council pay five shillings for being disordered in drink and be reproved." We presume the reproof was made by Penn, a report of which would have been interesting.

On the 20th, the petition of Nathaniel Allen was read, showing he had sold a servant to Henry Bowman for £6 Sterling and six hundred pounds of beef, including the hide and tallow, which he delayed to pay, and likewise that the said Bowman and Walter Humphrey had hired a boat of the petitioner for only one month, but had kept the same for eighteen weeks to his great prejudice. It was ordered that William Clarke,

John Simcox, and James Harrison speak to the said Bowman concerning the matter.

Among the Bills proposed for the following day, was one that "Hoggs be ringed." The office of Coroner to be established in each county and Grand Juries be held twice a year. A written message was sent in by the Assembly thanking the Governor for his kind speech to them the day before, and gratefully embracing his offer as to what they desired inserted into the Charter.

On the 23d, among other things it was "Ordered that the seal of Philadelphia be the Anchor; of the County of Bucks a Tree and a Vine, of the County of Chester, a Plow; of the County of New Castle, a Castle; of the County of Kent, Three Ears of Indian Corn; of the County of Sussex, One Wheat Sheaf;" when they adjourned till 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

During March the Council held its meetings fifteen days, adjourning on the 31st till the 2d of the following month. Penn was present during the whole session, which was held in Philadelphia, and is probably the earliest mention of the name to be found in the official proceedings of the Proprietary government.

A second letter was sent to Penn by George Hutcheson, dated from London the 18th of the present month, respecting the various evil reports in circulation there respecting his character and designs. We may well imagine the Governor's feelings on receipt of such information! The whole is nearly given with a slight change in the style.

"Since I came here to assist friends in their voyage I still find thy person the butt for the arrows of malice to be shot at and thy reputation endeavored to be so blasted. I cannot but be free with whom I love and desire the welfare of, and signify what men say of them as Christ desired knowing the good effects it may produce in them that can bear both good and bad report. Thou art reflected upon in respect to thy laws or government, one particularly that is instanced, is the order that none shall teach but per order from thee which looks like this in England, without license for which friends now suffer.

"I heard thee yesterday reviled upon the wharf by the searchers for the Customs, and when I told them one tale was good till another was told. One answered it was brought by one of our own tribe: I confess I heard it the same day from a friend, that some had reflected on him because he would not revile thee at the same rate they did for it. There is another thing I judge not worth troubling thee about especially at present, because I know not the authors shall be silent, and may possibly ere long see thy face, who in haste remains thy true friend."

There is no doubt that much the larger proportion of the emigrants into the colony since the grant of the Royal Charter belonged to the Society of Friends. They sought here to enjoy unmolested the principles and opinions they held. Chiefly owing to this cause there was a continuous increase for a number of years,

CHAPTER IX.

ANOTHER MEETING WITH LORD BALTIMORE.—PURCHASES FROM THE INDIANS.

[*May and June, 1683.*]

THE next Council held by Penn was at Lewis in Sussex county on the 2d of 3d month. He informed the members that he had made choice of Nicholas More to be secretary, who took the place accordingly. After the business had been gone through with, they adjourned till the 23d, when they met in Philadelphia, and continued in session the following day.

On the 20th, a letter was sent by Ephraim Herman to Penn from New Castle, in which he says, "Last night came here from the head of the Bay the Somerset county pork merchant, who sold your honor the pork some six weeks ago, who brings certain intelligence that the Lords Culpepper and Baltimore, have designed to be this day at Captain Wards, and tomorrow or Wednesday hither with a great number of attendants, of which I thought it my duty to acquaint your honor."

A few days later Penn received the following letter from Lord Baltimore announcing his coming:

"Most Honorable Friend.—Being come this day to

and Cheshire was strangely substituted for Chester county. Of these nine meetings, the number I infer, six must have been established since the arrival of Penn, that is within a period of less than five months, showing in so short a time an extraordinary increase. Chiefly brought about by the unceasing exertions of the Proprietary. This was far more than had been previously done by the Dutch, Swedes and English, within the same limits in the rule of half a century.

The Governor and Council met again in Philadelphia on the 2d of 2d month. The Charter of the Province was read in the evening and signed, sealed and delivered by the Proprietary for the inhabitants to James Harrison and the Speaker, who were ordered to return the former one with the unanimous thanks of the House. The Council continued in session on the 3d and 4th, when they adjourned till the 2d of 3d month.

the head of the bay of Chesapeake; I was then in treaty with the kings of the natives for land; but three days after we met ten miles from New Castle, which is thirty from the bay. I invited him to the town, where having entertained him, as well as the town could afford, on so little notice, and finding him only desirous of speaking with me privately, I pressed that we might, at our distinct lodgings, sit severally with our councils, and treat by way of written memorials; which would prevent the mistakes, or abuses, that may follow from ill designs, or ill memory; but he avoided it, saying, 'He was not well, and the weather sultry, and would return with what speed he could, reserving any other treaty to another season.'—Thus we parted, at that time. I had been before told by divers, that Lord Baltimore had issued forth a proclamation, to invite people, by lower prices, and greater quantities of land, to plant in the lower counties; in which the Duke's goodness had interested me, as an inseparable benefit to this whole province."

From a letter by Lord Baltimore, dated June 11th, to Mr. Blathwayte in London, we learn that the aforesaid private conference at New Castle took place on the 29th.

Among the many interesting incidents connected with Penn's residence in America, the following is of too curious a nature to let pass by, and does honor to his generosity. The first child born of English parents in Philadelphia was John Key, who first saw the

light in a cave near the foot of Sassafras, now better known as Race street. For this distinction the Governor presented him with a warrant the 26th of 3d month, 1683, for a lot of ground, 49½ feet front and 306 feet deep, on the south side of Sassafras street, west of Fourth. Mention is made therein as "granted unto John Key, then an infant, being ye first born in ye city of Philadelphia." He received his patent for it in 1713, and afterwards sold it and removed to Kennet in Chester county, where he died in 1767, at the advanced age of 85 years.

Meetings of the Council were held by the Governor in Philadelphia, on the 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 20th and 26th of 4th month, but nothing of special interest appears to have been transacted. The principal object in making such statements, is to show as far as can be ascertained the Proprietary's daily movements. Attention to this has enabled us to correct several misstatements.

Christopher Taylor, James Harrison, Thomas Holme and Thomas Winne were appointed by Penn, Commissioners to treat with West Jersey, "concerning the satisfaction I have demanded in a letter to the said Governor and Council for certain great wrongs and injustice done unto me and this province by some of the inhabitants of their colony. As also to settle a right understanding between me and them about the trade and the islands therein and whatsoever you shall do herein, I do hereby ratify and confirm and this shall

be to you a sufficient credential. Given at Philadelphia the 11th of the 4th month, the 35th year of the reign of the King, and the third of my Government."

To the aforesaid he gave written instructions, in which he says, "So soon as you shall arrive in Burlington, take care to make known to the Governor and Council, That you are sent in my name, to treat with them about some provincial business, and therefore desire a time that you may be heard." He had sent the same day a letter to the Governor of that province about the aforesaid grievances, a copy of which is in the State Paper Office, London.

About the 26th of the previous month, Penn states that he was in treaty with several Indian kings for land, with what result is explained in the following grants:

Tamanen on the 23d of this month (June) conveys to the Proprietary all his lands lying between the Pennepack and Neshaminy creeks for a consideration. Essepenaike and Swanpees the same day grant all their rights to the lands situated between the aforesaid streams, and extending backwards from the same two days journey with a horse, and is further confirmed by Tamanen and Metamequan. On the 25th, Wingebone disposes of all his lands lying on the west side of Schuylkill, beginning at the first falls, thence all along upon said river and backwards of the same as far as his right goes.

In an address prepared by James Logan and delivered to Sassoonan, alias Allumapees, in Philadelphia, August 13, 1731, mention is made of an answer by the former, in which he says that he understands every word that was said, and remembers when William Penn went up to Perkasie to meet the Indians there, and that Tamany, Menanget and Hetkoquean were present. (1.) As Perkasie is situated on the west branch of the Neshaminy, it is very probable that on this occasion the purchases relating to the aforesaid conveyances were made, and the same to which Penn referred when speaking about his business with Lord Baltimore. In further confirmation, these purchases are the earliest known to have been made by him with the Indians for lands. The originals of these deeds may be seen in the office of the Secretary of State at Harrisburg. Tamanen's or Taminy's signature is a rude representation of a rattlesnake. A receipt and an endorsement on them appears to be in the Governor's handwriting

On the 24th, Lord Baltimore sent a lengthy letter to Penn in reference to the boundaries, the contents being equivalent to about eight pages of foolscap. It is dated "Mattapany," and styles him "My most Hon'd friend." A few extracts are selected. (1.)

"I am, therefore, in a most particular manner, obliged to you for the kindness expressed by your last letters of the 6th, and 9th instant, which came to my hands yesterday at Port Tobacco in Charles county; some sixty miles from Patuxent, where I am now

newly come, chiefly to return you my answer, and very affectionately to acknowledge your expressions of respects and friendship to me, for which I will ever be your debtor. In the next place I cannot but signify my trouble to understand by one of yours, that mine of the 31st ultimo came not to your hands till the 6th instant, which must be a supine neglect in John Thomson, Clerk of Cecil county to whom I gave that letter the same day it was written with strict charge, and command the messenger to deliver it the next day to your cousin Capt. Markham, which if he did not, he shall be severely reprehended for his contempt and carelessness therein.

"In your letter of the 6th instant you put me in mind of the obligations you know I lie under. First for the honor and favor you afforded me in despatching your secretary with two other gentlemen to acquaint me with your arrival and with the assurance of your respect and friendship, and secondly for the long and unpleasant journey you took in a cold season in order to give me further pledges of a friendly agreement and neighborhood. As I was highly sensible of your respect, kindness, and friendship therein."

A court was held at Chester for said county on the 27th, at which, as the records inform us, "William Penn, Esqr. Proprietary and Governor" presided. That a Governor should act in the official capacity of a Judge in the trial of cases appears at this day strange. It was a feudal prerogative from the parent country, and in the hands of tyrants a power liable to gross abuse.

CHAPTER X.

MORE INDIAN PURCHASES.—PENNSBURY.—FURTHER ACCOUNTS OF THE PROVINCE.

[*July, 1683.*]

AFTER holding a Council at Philadelphia on the 4th of 5th month, we can find nothing of interest concerning Penn till the 14th, when a grant was made for a purchase of lands from Secane and Idquoquehan, "Indian shackamakers," for all the lands lying between Maniaunk or Schuylkill river and Macapanakhan or Chester creek, beginning on the west side Schuylkill at a hill called Conshohocken, and from thence by a westerly line to the said Macapanakhan creek. At the same time Neneshickon, Malebore, Neshanocke and Oscrenean dispose of their rights to all the lands between the said Schuylkill river and Pennypack creek, and as far north as the hill called Conshokocken The aforesaid is now better known as Edge Hill, being a long narrow ridge of primal white sandstone crossing the Delaware at Trenton, and running south-westerly into Maryland. It is chiefly remarkable for being the first elevation of any length above tide water, and for the purpose mentioned, served as a prominent natural boundary.

From Philadelphia on the 18th Penn sent a draft of his proclamation to London, in relation to the lands of Thomas Mathews of Burlington, a copy of which is in the State Paper Office. This no doubt has reference to the matter on which he appointed four Commissioners on the 11th of last month, to treat with the Governor of New Jersey "for certain great wrongs and injustice done unto me and the province about the trade and the islands therein."

In this month the Proprietary issued an order for the establishment of a post-office, and granted Henry Waldy, of Tacony, authority to hold one, and also to supply passengers with horses from Philadelphia to the Falls and New Castle. The rates of postage on letters from the Falls to the city was three pence; to Chester, five pence, and to New Castle, seven pence. It went only once a week; and it was Phineas Pemberton's duty to put up a notice to this effect at the most public places, and on the doors of the private houses where the meetings were then held.

Phineas Pemberton, just mentioned, arrived here shortly after Penn, and so well and favorably known in the early annals of Bucks, was commissioned the first Clerk of the Court as the following, copied from the records, bears testimony:

"William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Territories thereunto belonging. To Phineas Pemberton greeting: Reposing confidence in thy integrity and ability, I do here-

by constitute and appoint thee Clark of the Court of the County of Bucks, to act in the same employment with all diligence, faithfulness and according to law; and to receive the fees due as by law directed. This Commission to be of force as long as thou shalt well behave thyself therein. Given at Pennsbury the 21st of 5th month, 1683.

WM. PENN."

In the aforesaid we have the earliest mention of Pennsbury, and establishes the fact that Penn was residing there at this time—during the heated term in the midst of summer. Mention was made of the Friends holding meetings here at the "Governor's house," before the middle of First month last, over five months previous. In consequence, it becomes us now to say something respecting its earlier history. From Lindstrom's map of New Sweden in 1654, we find the stream here called "Sapaessing," which name was also applied to the country in the vicinity, as we learn from the Albany records of 1672. It is an Indian name, and is said to signify "a place of plums," from the abundance of this kind of fruit found growing here. The name was also applied to the island above the place, now generally known as Biddle's island.

Deputy Governor Markham purchased for Penn, August 1st, 1682, at the house of Capt. Lasse Cock,

at Upland, of several Indian chiefs, among other extensive tracts "ye land called Soepassincks, and ye island of ye same name." This manor originally contained 8,431 acres, fronting on the Delaware for several miles. The soil was fertile, and from accounts was one of the heaviest timbered tracts in the county. Here, by the margin of the Delaware, Penn had his mansion erected in the years 1682-83, and it is said under the direction of his relative Markham, at a cost of £7,000, which at that day was certainly a large sum. For its better construction a considerable quantity of the most finished and ornamental materials had been brought from England. Here he afterwards resided for a time with his family, and held treaties with the Indians and religious meetings.

That he had an attachment to a rural life is exhibited in the following extract from the parting address to his wife on the eve of embarkation to America: "Let my children be husbandmen and housewifes. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. Of cities and towns, of concourse beware. The world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there. A country life and estate I like best for my children." That he was fond of calling places after the several members of his family, Pennsbury, Williamstadt, Springettsbury, Callowhill, Gilberts and others sufficiently attest.

During this month Penn sent four letters with his agent Capt. Markham to England, all of great interest; containing considerable information respecting the colony, the Indians, the natural productions of the country and the progress made in improvements, etc. The prime object, however, of these, it would appear, was to secure influence from those in power, and be of assistance to him in his claims against Lord Baltimore respecting the boundaries between the two provinces.

The following, dated Philadelphia, the 24th of 5th month, 1683, "For Colonel Henry Sidney, in Leichesterfield," who was the third son of the Earl of Leicester, brother to the celebrated Algernon Sidney, and an uncle of Lord Sunderland. For the active part he took in the Revolution of 1688, was created by William and Mary, Earl of Romney. To Penn he continued a sincere and lasting friend. Nearly the whole of this interesting letter is here given:

"The great parts of friendship are love, truth, and constancy, and from the time it pleased thee to receive mine, it hath not wandered in any one respect, but I still love and honour thee, and would be glad I could be of any service to thee; at this distance, to be sure I cannot, but neither can distance wear out the impressions a long and kind acquaintance hath made upon my mind. 'Tis with this familiar talk I begin to entertain thee, though a great man, now in the government, and long deserving to have been so in thyself,

nor shall I ask any excuse for this freedom with a person whose good nature will not be offended, and whose good sense loveth little ceremony in writing.

"I have been here about nine months, and have had my health, I thank God very well; I find the country wholesome, land, air, and water good, divers good sorts of wood and fruits that grow wild, of which plums, peaches and grapes are three; also cedar, chestnut and black walnut and poplar, with five sorts of oak, black and white, Spanish, red and swamp oak the most durable of all, the leaf like the English willow.

"We have laid out a town a mile long, and two miles deep. On each side of the town runs a navigable river, the least as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, the other about a mile over. I think we have near about eighty houses built, and about three hundred farmers settled around the town. I fancy it already pleasanter than the Weald of Kent, our being clearer, and the country not much closer; a coach might be driven twenty miles end-ways. We have had fifty sail of ships and small vessels, since the last summer in our river, which shows a good beginning. And I hope God will prosper our honest care and industry, yet a friend at Court is a good thing; and I flatter myself to believe, I shall never want one while thou art there. Wherefore give me leave to recommend the bearer, my agent and kinsman, Captain William Markham, to thy favour and power.

"I hear the Lord Sunderland is Secretary of State

again; I also remember his kind promises, and the mighty influences thou deservedly hast upon him; pray use it in my affair, that only I and my family, but the province may owe a singular acknowledgement to thy kindness. That, in which I so earnestly solicit thy assistance, he will better communicate than I can write it; and I would not make my letter troublesome. The business is just, and honourable, and prudent for the Crown to hear me in, and that I hope will make it easie to my noble friends to favour me. I have written to the Lord Sunderland about it, for it belongs to his station, and since no man can better welcome it to him than myself, let me throw myself upon thee, and by both thy introduction of him and countenance of the business of the Lord. God will reward thee, and we here shall rest the debtors of thy goodness, with much thankfulness.

"I have only to ask pardon for a poor present I send, of the growth of our country. Remember the offerings of old were valued by the hearts of them that made them; which gives me assurance it will be accepted. I hear little news, and am not very careful of it; but a line of thy health, and success of thy affairs will be very pleasant: nobody interesting himself with more affection and sincerity in thy prosperity than thy very faithful friend."

In the aforesaid, Penn remarks he had written a letter at sea soliciting a few fruit trees raised by Lord Sunderland's gardener, with a view of giving them a

trial as to the success and quality of what may be produced here. The willow or peach oak is somewhat of a rare tree in Pennsylvania, but is still found in the low grounds of Pennsbury manor.

"To the Lord Keeper North, My Noble Friend," he writes at the same time, in which he says, "It hath been sometimes a question with me whether writing or silence would be more excusable, for it is an unhappiness incident of great men to be troubled with the prospects of those their power and goodness oblige, but because I had rather want excuse for this freedom than be wanting of gratitude to my benefactor, I determined to render my most humble thanks for the many favours I received at the Lord North's hand, in the passing and great dispatch of my patent.

"I thank God I am safely arrived, and twenty-two sail more; the air proveth sweet and good, the land fertile, and springs many and pleasant. We are one hundred and thirty miles from the main sea, and forty miles up the freshes. The town plat is a mile long and two miles deep; on each side of the town runs a navigable river, the least as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, the other above a mile, and I suppose above three hundred farms settled as contigiously as may be. We have had since last summer about sixty sail of great and small shipping, which we esteem a good beginning; a fair we have had, and weekly market, to which the ancient lowly inhabitants come to sell their produce to their profit and our accommodation.

"I have also bought land of the natives, treated them largely, and settled a firm and advantageous correspondency with them; who are a careless, merry people, yet in property strict with us, though as kind as can be among themselves; in council so deliberate, in speech short, grave and eloquent, young and old in their several class, that I have never seen in Europe anything more wise, cautious or dexterous 'tis as admirable to me as it may look incredible on that side of the water.

"I have only to add, that it would please the Lord North, to smile favourably upon us, a plantation so well regulated for the benefit of the crown, and so improving and hopeful by the industry of the people, that since stewards used to follow such enterprises in ancient times at least encouragement and countenance might be yielded us, whose aims shall in everything be bounded with a just regard to the King's service; and we think we may reasonably hope, that England being the market both of our wants and industry in great measure, there is interest as well as goodness of our side.

"I have pardon to ask for a poor present I make by the hands of the bearer my agent and kinsman Capt. Markham; all I have to say is this; 'tis our country produce, and that of old time offerings were valued by the heart that made them. I end with a congratulation of the honour the King hath joined to thy great merit, and my sincere and most affectionate wishes for thy prosperity; being one of those many, whom thy good-

ness hath obliged to own and approve, as I really am, thy very sensible, thankful friend."

The following, published in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (vol. II. pp. 243-7), was addressed to the Earl of Sunderland, and is dated on the 28th, from which we give several extracts:

"I had rather need an excuse than be wanting of gratitude to my noble benefactors of which the Lord Sunderland was one of the first, in the business of my American country. I am now in a station, where my own weakness or my neighbour's envy may happen to hurt my honest interest and the good work I have in my eye. Please to take me and my poor feeble concerns into thy protection, and give us thy smiles and countenance; and I will venture to say; that by the help of God and such noble Friends I will show a province in seven years equal to her neighbours of forty years planting.

"I have laid out the Province into counties, six are begun to be seated, they lie on the great river and are planted about six miles back. The town plat is a mile long and two deep—has a navigable river on each side, the least as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, from three to eight fathom water. There is built about eighty houses, and I have settled at least three hundred farms contigious to it. We have had with passengers twenty-three ships, and trading forty great and small since last summer, not amiss for one year. Here is a hickory nut tree, mighty large, and more tough than

our ash, the finest white and flaming fire I have ever seen. I have had better venison, bigger, more tender, and as fat as in England. Turkeys of the wood, I had of forty and fifty pounds weight. Fish in abundance hereaways yet as I hear of, but oysters, that are monstrous for bigness, though there be a lesser sort.

"The Indians are an extraordinary people had not the Dutch, Swedes and English learned them drunkenness (in which condition, they kill or burn one another) they had been very tractable, but rum is so dear to them, that for six penny worth, one may buy that fur from them, that five shillings, in any other community shall not purchase. Yet many of the old men, and some of the young people will not touch such spirits; and because in those fits they mischief both themselves and our folks too, I have forbid to sell them any. Pardon my noble Friend this length, I thought it my duty to give an account of the place to one whose favour had helped to make it mine, and who was pleased more than once to discourse on the settlement of it. I have only to recommend the bearer my kinsman, Capt. Markham, and to pray access in my affairs, yet not fully fixt, by the unkindness of my neighbour, the Lord Baltimore."

The letter to Henry Savill was also written in Philadelphia and dated the 30th, and may be seen in full in the Pennsylvania Archives, vol. I. pp. 68-9.

"My Worthy Friend," he writes, "Permit a man that has not troubled thee a long time to do it now a

little with the news of this new world that by it at least I may continue and preserve my claims to an old and very obliging acquaintance. I thank God I am come well to America and what is more, like it well but that is no news. The land is good, sand and loam sometimes strong, the air serene as in Languedoc, the waters cool and sweet. One great navigable river the eastern bounds of our Province and three or four smaller, running into that, the woods yield us cypress, cedar, black walnut, sassafras, oak white, black, red, Spanish, chestnut and swamp, the hardest and most lasting poplar, the best in the world, I have here a canoe of one tree that fetches four ton of bricks also ash and many that in England we have not. The woods also yield us grapes, plums, peaches, strawberries and chestnuts in abundance.

"I have laid out a town, a mile long and two deep, on each side of which is a navigable river ye least of which is as broad as ye Thames at Woolwich, as I remember, from three to eight fathom. The winter is sometimes three months usually but two, one in three years sharp, I suppose we have eighty houses in our town and about three hundred farmers near it to help us with provisions and the merchants and mechanics to accommodate them with goods.

"The natives are proper and shapely, very swift, their language lofty. They speak little, but fervently and with elegancy, I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help I was

going to say the spoil of tradition. The worst is that they are the worse for the Christians who have propagated their views and yielded them tradition for the worst and not for the better things. They believe in a Deity and immortality without the help of metaphisics and some of them admirably sober, though the Dutch, Swedes and English have by brandy and rum almost debaucht them all and when drunk the most wretched of spectacles, of burning and sometimes murdering one another, at which times the Christians are not without danger as well as fear. Though for gain they will run the hazard both of that and the law. They make their worship to consist of two parts, sacrifices which they offer of their first fruits with marvelous fervency and labour of body sweating as if in a bath. The other is their canticoes as they call them which is performed by round dances, sometimes words, then songs, then shouts being in the middle that begin and direct the chorus this they perform with equal fervency but great appearance of joy.

"In this I admire them, nobody shall want what another has, yet they have propriety, but freely communicable, they want or care for little, no bills of exchange, nor bills of lading, no chancery suits nor exchequer accounts have they to perplex themselves with, they are soon satisfied and their pleasure feeds them, I mean hunting and fishing. I have made two purchases, and have had two presents of land from them.

"Things here go on very prosperously, and with

God's help and the Kings and my noble Friend's favour I doubt not in seven years to equal plantations forty years older, as in a town (the life of a province) I have already outdone some. I do earnestly recommend the bearer Capt. Markham my kinsman, an ingenious person and my agent at Court for the completing of my affairs. Pray give him access and measures, favour our beginnings and let not this distance rob me of the continuance of thy favour and friendship."

These several letters do Penn infinite credit, and show him to have been a careful observer of the habits of the natives, the productions of the soil, and of the growth and progress of the province, as well as its adaptations and capabilities. In correspondence he certainly possessed a ready pen, and few can be found of that day treating on kindred subjects that can approach them in style and information.

About this time Penn appears to have had considerable anxiety concerning his relations with Lord Baltimore, and which, as we see, induced him to dispatch Captain Markham as his agent to England. In a letter to John Tucker on the 29th, he says, "My difficulties have been many, and are continued by the backwardness of Lord Baltimore to comply with the King's letter." Two days later he wrote to Col. Thomas Taylor, of Annarundel county, at whose house the conference had been held in December last. "I had his promise at the same time, and treated him at the George and Vulture for that very reason where he

challenged with me to have spoken so, but hath not performed. Again, I finding this place necessary to my province, and that the presence of the Lord Baltimore was against law civil and common, I endeavored to get it, and have it, and will keep it if I can. But the Proprietor is good or bad a charging; for he charges my suppositions as concessions: If thou hast a title to the lower counties, they are not the farther off, because I have them; and the 40th degree of North Latitude be higher than common fame giveth it, what wilt thou let me have it at per mile, and so pro rata, and I will waive the King's letter."

A communication was sent to his "Esteemed Friend," Philemon Lloyd at Choptank, in Maryland, dated from Philadelphia, on the 31st. It is lengthy and treats chiefly on religious matters. Having heard that he was recovering after considerable sickness, and expresses the desire that he may soon be well again. From the friendliness exhibited therein by Penn, it is very probable that he was entertained by him, and attended religious worship when on his return from West River.

CHAPTER XI.

EXERTIONS OF PENN ON THE BOUNDARY QUESTION.— WRITES A PAMPHLET ON THE PROVINCE.— ARRIVAL OF PASTORIUS.

[*August, 1683.*]

THE Governor held a Council in Philadelphia, on the 1st of 6th month, Nicholas More, the Secretary, being present. Among other matters, "That 'tis thought fit the care of Magistrates, that due provision be made for the sustenance of the people, and though our provisions are but small, yet that there may be care taken every one may partake." Another meeting was held on the 16th, when they adjourned till the 29th. On the latter day, "The Governor put the question whether a proclamation were not convenient to be put forth to impower Masters to chastise their servants, and to punish any that shall inveigle any servant to go from his Master." The minutes state that this was unanimously agreed upon, "and ordered it accordingly."

Among the papers that Penn prepared in his defence to send to England, was a statement made out on the 9th of this month, that at the Conference held at Col.

Taylor's in Maryland, in 10th month last, in reply to his arguments about two degrees being only granted to Lord Baltimore, Chancellor Charles Calvert had said, "Sir, to show you that the patent was not to begin by degrees, my father had a grant of more of Virginia then than now my nephew enjoyeth, but that the patent giving only unplanted land, he was advised to let it fall least he forfeited the whole."

A few days before Markham's embarkation, Penn prepared a letter to be presented to the King, Charles II. A copy was made by J. R. Coates, Esq., from the original in London, which was published in 1827, in the Memoirs (vol. II. pp. 241-3) of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For our purpose it is too lengthy, and therefore give only the following extracts:

"Great and Gracious Prince.

"It is a barren soil that yields no returns to the dew that feeds it, and they are mean and ungrateful minds that are oblivious of the favours they receive. I would fain excuse this freedom, if I were not bound to use it, for being destitute of better ways, gratitude makes it necessary to me, and necessity is a solicitor that takes no denial. Let the King then graciously please to accept my most humble thanks for his many royal favours, conferred upon me, more especially this of Pennsylvania. I only lament myself, in a way suitable to the sense I have of the great obligations I lie under. * * * *

"Give me leave next, to say, so soon as I was

arrived and made any settlement of this Province; I thought it my duty to wait upon the King by some person of the Province, in condition of an Agent extraordinary, which is the bearer my kinsman Markham, formerly deputy in this Government, and though this would not look wholy free of vanity, considering my late private capacity, yet I take it to be the duty of those persons whom the goodness of the Kings of England hath at any time clothed with extraordinary powers in these parts of the world, to show their deference to the Imperial Majesty they are tributary to, and their dependence upon it, by the mission and attendance of Agents in their names at the Court. I have only now, Great Prince, to pray pardon and acceptance for a poor present of country produce, and that it would graciously please the King to take me still into his favour, his young Province into his protection; and God, the bountiful rewarder of good and gracious acts, retaliate them both with temporal and eternal glory. I am with reverence and truth Great and Gracious Prince thy most thankful, humble and obedient subject and servant in all I can.

WM. PENN.

"Philadelphia, 13th Aug. '83."

On the 14th Penn closed his arduous labors for a short time on the great boundary dispute. For on this day he finished his letter to the Lords of the Committee of Plantations in London, to be forwarded with the other letters.

After going over the controversy he concludes as follows: "I have only humbly to add that the province hath a prospect of an extraordinary improvement, as well by divers sorts of strangers, as English subjects; that, in all acts of justice, we name and venerate the King's authority; that I have followed the Bishop of London's counsel, by buying, and not taking away the natives' land; with whom I have settled a very kind correspondence. I return my most humble thanks for your former favours, in the passing of my patent, and pray God reward you. I am most ready to obey all your commands, according to the obligations of them, and beseech you take this province into your protection under his Majesty, and him, whom his goodness hath made Governor of it, into your favours."

In the aforesaid, Penn modestly pays the Bishop a high compliment. But in this respect he was but following the example of the Dutch, Swedes and the English, in the case of Governor Andros within the same territory. Queen Christina, in her instructions to Governor Printz, forbid him to take land from the Indians, except by a fair purchase. We are not aware that either the Government or any of the Kings of England admitted such a right in the natives, at least down to a short time before the middle of last century. There are documents extant to prove this, which state that his Majesty was vested in the exclusive ownership of the soil.*

* See history of the Indian Walk, chapter II.

We have at this time another evidence of the extraordinary industry exhibited amidst his multifarious duties in "A Letter from William Penn Proprietary and Governour of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province, residing in London. Containing a General Description of the said Province, its Soil, Air, Water, Seasons and Produce, both Natural and Artificial, and the good Encrease thereof." He gives in it the date of "16th of 6th Moneth, called August 1683," and at the end signs himself "Your Kind Cordial Friend." It was published in a pamphlet of 11 pages royal octavo size, and on the title page states, "Printed and Sold by Andrew Sowle at the Crooked-Billet in Holloway, Shoreditch, and at several Stationers in London, 1683." We extract the following interesting account:

"The city of Philadelphia, now extends in length, from river to river, two miles, and in breadth near a mile; and the Governour, as a further manifestation of his kindness to the purchasers, hath freely given them their respective lots in the city, without defalcation of any other quantities of purchase lands; and as its now placed and modelled between two navigable rivers upon a neck of land, and that ships may ride in good anchorage, in six or eight fathom water in both rivers, close to the city, and the land of the city, dry and wholesome; such a scituation is scarce to be parallel'd.

"The city consists of a large Front-street to each river, and a High street near the middle from Front to

Front, of one hundred foot broad, and a Broad street in the middle of the city, from side to side, of the like breadth. In the centre of the city is a square of ten acres; at each angle are to be houses for publick affairs, as a Meeting-House, Assembly or State-House, Market-House, School-House, and several other buildings for public concerns. There are also in each quarter of the city a square of eight acres, to be for the like uses, as the Moore-fields in London; and eight streets, besides the High Street, that run from Front to Front, and twenty streets, besides the Broad street, that run cross the city, from side to side; all these streets are of fifty foot breadth."

The pamphlet contains an engraved plot or plan of the city, as laid out by the Surveyor-General, with the lots numbered. In this also appeared his full and exceedingly well-written account of the Indians. For its size, in our opinion, the very best in the language on that subject that appeared within said century. Such was the popularity of this work that it was soon after translated into several European languages, and read with great interest. It was republished in The Present State of British America, by Richard Blome, in 1687, in Proud's History of Pennsylvania (vol. I. pp. 245-264), Hazard's Register (vol. I. p. 433), and in a number of other works.

It is remarkable that the square "in the centre of the city," designed by Penn for the Public Buildings,

should, after an interval of more than a century and three-quarters, through a popular vote, be appropriated to that use. This shows the far-seeing plans of the man to whom Philadelphia is now so much indebted for the admirable arrangements of its streets and public squares. If any one is deserving a statue, as is proposed, on the lofty dome of the new City Hall, it must be he.

In the previous year at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, in Germany, was founded the first company for sending colonists to America; it was called "Die Auswanderer Geselchaft," but here known as the Frankfort Land Company. One of its principal agents was Francis Daniel Pastorius, a native of Limburg, and an accomplished scholar. Hearing of the success of Penn's colony, and pleased with his broad and liberal views, he embarked on the ship *America*, Captain Wasey, which took its departure from Deal June 7th, 1683; and on the 16th of August made first sight of land, but did not enter the Capes of Delaware until the 18th. On the 20th they passed New Castle and Chester, and towards evening arrived at Philadelphia. He was soon followed by thirty-three other Germans from Crefeldt, who arrived in the *Concord*, William Jeffries, master, on the 8th of October.

Pastorius says they landed "in perfect health and safety, where we were all welcomed with great joy and love by the governor William Penn and his secretary. He at once made me his confidential friend, and I am

frequently requested to dine with him, where I can enjoy his good counsel and edifying conversations. Lately, I could not visit him for eight days, when he waited upon me himself, requesting me to dine with him, in future, twice in each week, without particular invitation, assuring me of his love and friendship towards myself and the German people, hoping that all the rest of the colonists would do the same.

"This wise and truly pious ruler and governor did not, however, take possession of the province thus granted without having first conciliated, and at various counsils and treaties duly purchased from the natives of this country the various sections of Pennsylvania. He, having by these means ofltained good titles to the province, under the sanction and signature of the chiefs, I therefore have purchased from him some thirty thousand acres for my German colony. Now, although the oft-mentioned William Penn is one of the sect of Friends or Quakers, still he will compel no man to belong to his particular society, but he has granted to every one free and untrammeled exercise of their opinions, and the largest and most complete liberty of concience."

These interesting extracts are translated from his "Geographische Beschreibung Der Provintz, Pensylvaniæ," a work of 120 duo. pages, published at Frankfort and Leipzig in 1700. In the preface he says, "That it is worthy of note that this Province in 1684 contained a population of 4,000 Christian souls." Pastorius

and his Germans were the founders of Germantown, of whom Robert Turner, in a letter dated Philadelphia, 3d of 6th mo., 1685, says they go on finely in the manufacture of fine linen, having gathered one crop of flax and sowed for the second, and were also preparing to make brick the next year. Pastorius died in 1719, aged sixty-eight years.

We have the authority of Oldmixon, derived from a personal interview, that some time this year Penn made a journey into the interior of the Province. It was made on horseback, and it may be possible that it was one of those to which Thomas Fairman alludes as having accompanied him. The principal object, no doubt, was to become more intimately acquainted with the country and its natural productions, as well as the mode of Indian life from actual observation, for the purpose of communicating the same abroad in his writings for the benefit of the reading public, as has been related in this and the previous chapter. Penn stated how he slept at nights in their wigwams, partook of their fare, and how they treated their sick when ill of fevers by sweatings in heated ovens and baths. Wherever he came he was kindly received and hospitably entertained. To this journey he undoubtedly alludes in his "Further Account of the Province," written in 1685; wherein he states, "I have made a discovery of about a hundred miles west, and find those back lands richer in soil, woods, and fountains,

then that by Delaware; especially upon the Susquehanna river." Certainly a pretty good judgment respecting the present Lancaster county, one of the garden spots of America.

CHAPTER XII.

MORE INDIAN PURCHASES.—ADDITIONAL TROUBLES RESPECTING THE BOUNDARIES.—VISITS UMBILICAMENCE.—SELECTS A TRACT FOR THE MANOR OF SPRINGFIELD.

[*September and December, 1683.*]

PENN attended the meetings of the Council in Philadelphia on the 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th and 12th of this (7th) month. On the 8th, "The Governor proposes a law to be drawn, that servants which run away should serve five days for every day's absence after the time of their servitude, and pay the costs and damages the masters shall sustain by their absence. The Governor stating the question it was carried in the affirmative."

Kekelappan of Opasiskunk "conveys to Penn on the 10th, all his right to lands along the Susquehanna with a further promise to sell unto him at ye next spring at my return from hunting, ye other half of my land, at as reasonable rates as other Indians have been used to sell on this river." It is likely that this was brought about by the Proprietary's recent journey into the interior, when he may have visited that portion of the province.

As has been stated, Penn had troubles respecting his boundaries with both Maryland and West New Jersey, and now, through the aforesaid purchase, there was to be an additional one. Col. Thomas Dungan on the 18th sent a letter to the authorities at Albany, in which he says, "I have this day advised with the Council, and after a serious consideration as a cause of so great importance required, it is for good and weighty reasons thought very convenient and necessary to put a stop to all proceedings in Mr. Penn's affairs with the Indians, until his bounds and limits be adjusted, at the determining of which I think either to be personally present, or else send some on purpose. You are therefore, to suffer no manner of proceedings in that business until you shall have positive orders from me about it, and Mr. Haigue, Penn's agent is to be acquainted with the contents of this letter." This matter induced the Proprietary a few days afterwards to go to New York, and we know that he had not yet returned on the 24th. While there, as will be shortly mentioned, he availed himself of having copies made from the early records to sustain not only his own, but also the Duke's title to the Lower Territories.

Lord Baltimore, on the 17th, commissioned George Talbot to proceed to Philadelphia to demand from Penn or his deputy, all the land that lay southward of the Fortieth degree of North latitude. On the 24th, in the absence of the Proprietary, at New York, the same was made on Nicholas More as his agent. On

his return, Penn wrote a reply to Talbot, dated Philadelphia the 4th of 8th month, in which he stated that the said territory belonged to his grants, and he would therefore refuse to yield the same. In consequence, on the 18th (Oct.), he issued a proclamation at New Castle, prohibiting all persons to settle on the lands between the Delaware river and Chesapeake Bay without his leave.

Edward Brooks, while on a visit in the province, purchased of Penn on the 12th, 2,000 acres of land for eighty pounds sterling, "good and lawful money of Old England," and promises to pay the same "within ye space of six months after my arrival in England unto Philip Ford, merchant in Bow Lane in London without fail." This appears to be a singular condition of payment, and shows that the Proprietary had already trusted some of his business matters to Ford, and of which eventually the latter was to take undue advantage.

Another purchase was make by Penn on the 18th from Macholoha for all his right to lands situated between Chesapeake Bay and Delaware river, and extending upwards to the Falls of the Susquehanna. It must be admitted that such boundaries are vaguely expressed, but still could be the better comprehended by the Indians.

Meetings of the Council were held by the Governor on the 25th, 26th, 27th, 29th and 30th. On the 26th he sentenced Charles Pickering for passing counterfeit

coin, to redeem all called in by proclamation within a month and to be then melted down and returned to him, and to pay a fine of forty pounds towards the building of the Court-house, and to stand committed till paid, and then to find security for his future conduct. Samuel Buckley is fined for being concerned in the same ten pounds to go towards the Court-house, and to find security for his behavior. Robert Fenton, a servant concerned in the same, to sit in the stocks one hour the following morning.

During 9th month, or November, we find little transpiring of interest. William Beekman sent a letter to Penn, dated New York, November 4th, in which he says that two days after his departure from thence he delivered a letter to William Frampton enclosing a copy of an agreement or deed for the land between Cape Henlopen and Bombay Hook, and also a copy of the capitulation made in 1655 between the Swedish and the Dutch Governors. In examining his journal, found mention therein of a visit made to the Delaware in 1663 by Lord Baltimore, Chancellor Calvert, Colonel Utie and others, and though they remained there five or six days, they set up no claim to any part of said territory. (1.)

Meetings of the Council were held in Philadelphia on the 7th and 21st, at which the Governor presided. But little business was transacted, after which they adjourned to the following month.

Edward Claypoole, who had embarked at Gravesend,

and shortly after his arrival, in a letter to his brother James, a merchant of London, dated Philadelphia, 2d of 10th month, 1683. "Where," he says, "I found my servant had builded me a house like a barn without a chimney, forty by twenty feet with a good dry cellar under it, which proved an extraordinary conveniency for receiving our goods and lodging my family." In regard to land, expresses the opinion that "people come in so fast that it is like to be much dearer in a little time. As judged about one thousand acres being now worth £40 sterling." This denotes a considerable immigration at this time.

On the 15th, William Clark writes from Lewis, Sussex county, to the "Dear Governor" to inform him, "That thine of the 23d of 9th month, and one by the hands of John Hill, with no date, came to my hands, and had no opportunity to send an answer until now. As to Lord Baltimore's pretensions to these parts I hear nothing of, and things being quiet. I did intend, according to thy order that my wife should have pickled some oysters to send to thee. In order to obtain them I sent my servants, but it being at the beginning of the severe weather, they were forced to leave the canoe with its contents, but as soon as it is fit I shall give it my attention."

Respecting the boundary dispute with Baltimore, Penn received a letter from Nicholas Bayard, of New York, dated December 23d, '83; and from the interest it possesses give it in full. It is likely has never been

published before, and to suit our purpose have taken some liberties with its style.

"Honourable Sir. Since your departure I have made an inquiry by Mr. Frederick Philips concerning your affairs, but as I told them then, I find by him nothing which is material, for he came in the country in the year 1651, and is very ignorant of what is past in any country affairs about that time. I have made it my business to speak with several of the old standers in the country, but the most having been private persons and without public employ, can likewise give no account what right the Dutch formerly had in your parts of Delaware, only that they had possession and built forts there long before the year 1638; of which I can procure several testimonies if you desire the same, but I question not you may have such process more ample from Peter Cock in Timor and other old inhabitants in your colony. I have earnestly desired my friend Van Rivyvan to furnish me from Holland with all he can give or can procure in your behalf, and am assured he will not be wanting therein, and I promised him satisfaction, and to place it to my account for what charge he should be at for the land. Here enclosed is a copy of a protest I found in the records since your departure, if it may be of any service you may have a copy of the same attested by Mr. West or some public officer, and wherein I may be further able to serve you. Please freely to command your very humble servant.
(1.) NICHOLAS BAYARD."

The Governor held a meeting of the Council in Philadelphia on the 26th, at which the following members were present: Wm. Clayton, Wm. Hague and Lasse Cock. On this occasion the minutes state that "The Governor and Provincial Council having taken into their serious consideration the great necessity there is of a schoolmaster for the instruction and sober education of youth in the town of Philadelphia, sent for Enoch Flower, an inhabitant of the said town, who for twenty years past hath been exercised in that care and employment in England, to whom having communicated their minds he embraced it upon the following terms: to learn to read English four shillings by the quarter, to learn to read and write six shillings, to learn to read, write and cast accounts eight shillings; for boarding a scholar, that is to say, diet, washing, lodging and schooling, ten pounds for one whole year." This action is highly creditable to Penn and his Council, and shows that there was a desire even at this early period, when the city had not yet been laid out much over a year, that the education of youth be encouraged. A meeting of the Council was held the next day, when they adjourned to the following month.

It is remarkable how a few documents, without an intimate relation as to their general contents, may yet disclose and establish important facts. The Hon. Wm. A. Yeakle, a life-long resident of the valley of the Wissahickon, in Whitemarsh, informed the author a few years

ago, that he had discovered, from a deed of 1746, that his section had formed "a part of the lands by the Indians called Umbilicamence." As the name appeared not unfamiliar, it suggested to us to make an examination of Thomas Fairman's bill of charges (Penn–Physick MSS.) against William Penn, commencing with the year 1682, wherein is found mentioned an indebtedness "To a journey with the Proprietor and his friends to Umbolekimensin with 3 of my horses, 12 shillings." After some further research among the warrants for surveys the following was discovered:

"L. S. William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania and the Territories thereunto belonging. At the request of Jasper Farmer, Junior, in the behalf of his father, Major Jasper Farmer, his brother Richard and himself, that I would grant him to take up five thousand acres of land, being of the lands by the Indians called Umbilicamence, fronting on one end upon the River Schuylkill. These are to will and require thee forthwith to survey or cause to be surveyed unto him the said five thousand acres in the aforementioned place where not already taken up, according to the method of townships appointed by me, and make return thereof unto my Secretary's office. Given at Philadelphia the 31st of 10th month, 1683.

WM. PENN.

"For Thomas Holmes, Surveyor-General."

The several aforesaid papers now establish the in-

teresting information that William Penn, in company with Thomas Fairman and several friends, made a journey on horseback out there some time in the summer or fall of 1683, on purpose to view that section of country. The distance from Philadelphia not exceeding fourteen miles, and in coming hither no doubt passed by where is now Chestnut Hill and Flourtown. The termination of the trip was no doubt in the vicinity of where the Farmers made their settlement some two years later, and near where St. Thomas' Episcopal Church was erected. As an early Indian settlement is mentioned there, it is very probable that its name was Umbilicamence. For it was here where Edward Farmer, Nicholas Scull and John Scull acquired their early knowledge of the Delaware Indian language from the natives, and that enabled them on several subsequent occasions to act as interpreters on behalf of the provincial government.

Immediately adjoining the Farmer tract on the southeast lay Gulielma Maria Penn's Mannor," containing four thousand and ten acres surveyed by Fairman. From his bill of charges we learn that he and the Proprietary had made a journey on purpose "to look out some land" that was "afterwards named Springfield." This must have been made also about the aforesaid time. This tract was a good selection, the land fertile and abounding in an abundance of excellent limestone and iron-ore.

CHAPTER XIII.

MORE OF PENN'S CORRESPONDENCE.—PRESIDES AT A TRIAL FOR WITCHCRAFT.

[*January and February, 1683.*]

WE have now arrived near the close of the year 1683, old style, and the persecution of the Friends still continues, but not with that rigor as formerly. Though Charles II. was induced to discountenance it, yet through the indifference of those in power, considerable distress prevailed. In consequence, Penn did not remain unconcerned in regard to his suffering brethren, for they had his warmest sympathies, with an earnest desire to use his influence to procure them all the relief he possibly could. It is probable that in Ireland they were more harshly dealt with than in England, which induced the Proprietary, as we have seen, amidst his numerous cares and vexations here to address a letter on the 9th of 11th month to the Earl of Arran, Lord Deputy of the former, whom he calls, "My Noble and Old Friend," desiring him to exercise his sympathies in their behalf. It is of considerable length and in it expresses himself strongly in favor of liberty of

conscience in matters relating to religion, and hopes that persecution therefore may cease. He concludes with the following information respecting the province:

"I thank God I am safely arrived in the province that the providence of God and bounty of the King hath made it mine; and which the credit, prudence and industry of the people concerned with me must render considerable. I was received by the ancient inhabitants with much kindness and respect; and the rest brought it with them. There may be about four thousand souls in all; I speak I think within compass; We expect an increase from France, Holland and Germany as well as our native country. The land is generally good, well watered and not so thick of woods as imagined. There are also many open places that have been old Indian fields. The days are above two hours longer and the sun much hotter here than with you, which makes some recompence for the sharp nights of the winter season, as well as the woods that makes cheap and great fires. Our town of Philadelphia is seated between two navigable rivers, having from four to ten fathom water, about one hundred and fifty houses up in one year, and four hundred county settlements. We labor to render ourselves an industrious colony to the honor and benefit of the Crown as well as our own comfort and advantage, and let them not be separated say I."

From Philadelphia on the 2d of 12th month, Penn

addressed a letter to the Earl of Rochester, respecting his troubles with Lord Baltimore, and commences it with the following forcible introduction, "My Noble Friend,—It cannot be strange to a lord of so much experience, that in nature, all creatures seek succour against might; the young from their old and the feeble from the strong, and that the same nature, by reciprocal instinct, inspires the old to protect their young, and the strong the weak of their own kind. This, my noble Lord, is much my case and this trouble; and to whom can I go, with more reason and hope than to him that hath, with so much honour and truth and a perpetual success, been the kind and constant patron of my just cause. Let this therefore, noble Lord, meet with thy usual favour; which will add to the many bonds I am under, in affection and gratitude to thy just interest and service."

After which follows a lengthy defence of his claims to the Three Lower Counties, and in which he also sets forth his position, based on the settlements there by the Dutch and Swedes, against whom previously the Proprietary of Maryland had not set up any claims even to a part of the same.

On the 9th he addressed a second letter to the Marquis of Halifax in reference to his boundary dispute. In it he gives some interesting information in regard to the condition, prosperity and future prospects of his colony. "I hope," he states therein, "my agent

hath presented thee with my last and the respects I bear so honourable a friend. Our capital town is advanced to about one hundred and fifty very tolerable houses for wooden ones; they are chiefly on both the navigable rivers that bound the ends or sides of the town. The farmers have got their winter corn in the ground. I suppose we may be five hundred farmers strong. I settle them in villages, dividing five thousand acres among ten, fifteen or twenty families, as their ability is to plant it. Germans, Dutch and French are concerned in our prosperity with their own. The Germans are fallen upon flax and hemp, the French on vineyards. Here grow wild an incredible number of vines, that though savage and not so excellent, beside that much wood and shade sour them. They yield a pleasant grape, and I have drunk a good claret, though small and greenish, of Capt. Rapp's vintage of the savage grape.

"I must without vanity say, I have led the greatest colony into America, that any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it, are to be found amongst us; and, if this lord who may remember that his country was cut out of Virginia, to the great abatement of the interest of that province, and this not for debt, or salaries due, but as mere grace shall carry away this poor ewe lamb too, my voyage will be a ruinous one to me and my partners, which God defend. And my honourable friend, I shall only pray that my case may be re-

membered and recommended to the King by my noble friend the Marquis of Halifax."

Thomas Paschall, a factor of a Jean Company in Chippenham, England, wrote during a residence here "A Short Account of Pennsylvania," to which he appended his name and bears the date of Philadelphia, February 10th, 1683; its object appears to be to encourage emigration hither. It is likely that it was first published in England and afterwards translated into German. The copy seen by us was printed at Frankfort and Leipzig in 1700, and circulated by the Land Company there. It occupies but three pages and to this work can furnish nothing additional; however, at this early period of Penn's settlement is deserving of notice. All we have been enabled to ascertain further about Paschall is that he resided in Philadelphia the 17th of 7th month, 1701, when his name is found in a petition addressed to the Assembly.

We find the following compliment paid to Penn in a letter by James Claypoole,* dated Philadelphia, 24th of 12th month, and addressed to his friend, Gawan Lawrie: "William Penn, our Governor, has been exceedingly kind, and is so still to me and my family as if we were his nearest relations, and I hope his love will continue. Truly, he is very precious in his testimony and conversation, and we may be sure he takes

* Formerly a merchant in London, and had only recently arrived here. Became Register of Wills, and died in 1687. To his MS. Letter Book we are indebted for valuable information.

counsel of the Lord, for there is much of the wisdom that is from above manifest in his conduct and management of affairs here, by which he is made a fit instrument in the hand of the Lord for the work and service he is called to, and I wish with all my heart that all the Governors upon the earth were such as he is. I and my wife and eight children are all at this place in good health, and so have been mostly since we came, John my eldest writes for the Register, James is book-keeper to the Society."

A meeting of the Council was held by Penn in Philadelphia on the 7th of this (12th) month, at which Lasse Cock, Wm. Clayton, John Symcock and Thomas Holme were present. Margaret Matson and Getro Hendrickson were examined and about to be proved witches, whereupon it was ordered that Neels Matson should enter into recognizance of fifty pounds for his wife's appearance before this board on the 27th instant, and that Jacob Hendrickson be required to do the same for his wife. Meetings of the board were held on the 20th and 21st, but nothing transacted of special interest.

On the 27th, the Governor was present with James Harrison, Wm. Biles, Lasse Cock, Wm. Hague, Christopher Taylor, Wm. Clayton and Thomas Holme, members of the Council. The Grand Jury made a return and found a bill. Margaret Matson's indictment was read, and pleads not guilty. Lasse Cock was attested interpreter between the Proprietary and

the prisoner. A jury of twelve was impanneled, of which John Hastings was foreman. Henry Drystreet, attested, said he was told twenty years ago that the prisoner was a witch, and that several cows were bewitched by her. James Sandeland's mother told him she had bewitched her cow but afterwards saw it was a mistake, for it was not her cow but another person's that should die. Charles Ashcom, attested, says that Anthony's wife being asked why she sold her cattle; because her mother had bewitched them, having taken it off of Hendrick's cattle and put it on their oxen, which she might keep, but no other cattle. Margaret Matson says she values not Drystreet's evidence; but if Sandeland's mother had came she would have answered her, and also denies Charles Ashcom's evidence. Anneky Cooling's evidence concerning the geese she denies, saying she was never out of her canoe. The prisoner denies the evidence, and that they speak only from hearsay. After which the Governor gave the jury their charge, who brought her in guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in manner and form as she stands indicted. Neels Matson and Anthony Neelson were required to enter into a recognizance of fifty pounds each for the good behavior of Margaret Matson for six months, and Jacob Hendrickson in fifty pounds under the same conditions for his wife.

In the trial of such an extraordinary case we have concluded to be as full as our information would per-

mit. The parties were all Swedes and appear to have been ignorant of the English language, the proceedings being conducted by Lasse Cock and James Claypoole as interpreters. The Governor's charge to the jury at this day would possess considerable interest. We shall find after his return in 1701, of his presiding at another trial for witchcraft in which the parties appear to have been all English. No doubt the sentiment concerning it was stronger than is now generally supposed.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WELSH TRACT.—LETTERS TO THE DUKE OF YORK AND OTHERS.

[*March–July, 1684.*]

About this time a considerable body of Welsh Friends designed emigrating to this country, and through their agents an arrangement was effected with Penn in England, for the purchase and location in one great tract of about forty thousand acres, which they proposed to settle and thus be enabled to live contigiously to each other at no great distance from the city. In consequence the Proprietary issued the following warrant to the Surveyor General to have the same laid out:

"Whereas divers considerable persons among the Welsh Friends have requested me that all the lands purchased of me by those of North Wales and South Wales, together with the adjacent counties to them, as Haverfordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire, about forty thousand acres, may be laid out contigiously as one Barony, alleging that the number already come and suddenly come, are such as will be capable of planting the same much within the proportion allowed by the custom of the country and so not lye in large and useless vacancies. And because I am inclined and deter-

mined to agree and favour them with any reasonable conveniency and priviledge: I do hereby charge thee and strictly require thee to lay out the said tract of land in as uniform a manner, as conveniently may be, upon the west side of Schuylkill river running three miles upon the same, and two miles backward, and then extend the parellel with the river six miles and to run westwardly so far as till the said quantity of land be completely surveyed unto them.—Given at Pennsbury, the 13th 1 mo. 1684. WM. PENN."

On the 4th of the following month (April), Thomas Holme, the Surveyor General, authorized his deputy David Powell to proceed in laying out the same conformably to the Proprietary's instructions. This formed what has been ever since known as the Welsh Tract, and from which the townships of Merion, Haverford, Goshen and others subsequently originated. The aforesaid bounds as fixed by Penn possess quite an interest and have hitherto escaped the notice of historians, being derived from the records of the Surveyor General's office, Harrisburg. At this time they must have settled on it rapidly, judging not long after by their numbers. Oldmixon, who was here in 1708, in speaking of this tract and the Welsh, says that it then was "very populous, and the people are very industrious; by which means this country is better cleared than any other part of the county. The inhabitants have many fine plantations of corn, and breed abundance of cattle,

inasmuch that they are looked upon to be as thriving and wealthy as any in the province—and this must always be said of the Welsh, that wherever they come, 'tis not their fault if they do not live, and live well, too; for they seldom spare for labor, which seldom fails of success."

Meetings of the Council were held by the Governor in Philadelphia on the 20th, 21st, 24th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th and 31st, and at all of which he was present. It is, therefore, certain that he must have spent all or the greater portion of the previous winter in the city, visiting only for a few days Pennsbury near the middle of this the first spring month.

During 2d month, or April, the Proprietary held meetings with the Council on the 1st, 2d, 3d, 7th and 8th; spending a few days again at Pennsbury between the 4th and 7th.

We are reaching now a period in the celebrated boundary dispute in which the respective parties are proceeding to open hostilities for the arrest of each other's authorities in the enforcement of what they deem their respective rights. In consequence, Penn issued on the 6th the following commission to secure his territory from the encroachments of his unwearied neighboring Proprietary.

"To my trusty and loving friends, Wm. Welsh, John Simcock and James Harrison, greeting: Being credibly informed that a party of men armed some with guns and others with axes, under the command of Col. George

Talbot, have in a riotous manner invaded the right of some of the inhabitants of New Castle County, under pretence of a Commission from Charles Calvert, Proprietary of Maryland, these are to empower you, or any two of you, to raise the country and to grant Commissions to such as you shall see cause to raise the country, and likewise to charge and command both you and them by the King's Authority derived to me by the assignment of James Duke York and Albany, to take all due care, and that with all possible speed, to keep and maintain peace of our sovereign lord the King, and to suppress all riotous and rebellious practices, and them to apprehend and imprison whom you shall so find therein, that they may be proceeded against according to law, and as also to secure all persons as refuse or neglect to assist you in this service, and whom you have cause to suspect may be unfaithful to the government, and for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at Pennsbury, this 6th of the 2 mo. '84, being the 36th year of the King's reign."

The Assembly met at New Castle on the 10th of 3d month, to which, at the same time, the Governor adjourned his Council, which continued in session there till the 22d, when they adjourned to Philadelphia where they met on the 29th and the two following days. On the 10th the Governor informed the Council that he had called the Indians together, and proposed to them to let them have rum if they would be satisfied to be punished as the English were; which they agreed to,

provided that the law of not selling them rum be abolished. In a case between Andrew Johnson, plaintiff, and Hans Peterson, defendant, the Governor, and Council advised them to shake hands, and to forgive each other, which they accordingly did, and for their future good behavior were ordered to enter into bonds of fifty pounds each.

The Governor held meetings of the Council in Philadelphia on the 3d, 4th, 11th, 12th, 18th and 19th of this (4th) month. On the 18th he read the Declaration concerning the difference between Lord Baltimore and himself, desiring the Council's approbation; who approved of it, but suggested that some things mentioned therein might for the present be omitted.

In consideration of two matchcoats, four pair of stockings, and four bottles of cider Maughoughsin, grants under his hand and seal at Philadelphia the 3d of 5th month, 1684; all his land upon Pahkehoma to William Penn, his heirs and assigns forever, "with which I own myself satisfied and promise never to molest any Christians so called that shall seat thereon by his orders." This has reference to the lands on the Perkiomen creek in the present Montgomery county.

On the 7th another purchase was made by Penn at Philadelphia, from Richard Mettamicont, as owner of the land on both sides of Pennepack creek to the river Delaware, and hereby agrees "never to molest or trouble any Christians so called settled upon any part of the aforesaid land." Poor Indians,

though they and their lands have long since parted, we believe they faithfully adhered to the aforesaid conditions. In regard to these purchases, Oldmixon very sensibly observes in his "British Empire in America," that "As soon as Mr. Penn had got his patent, he invited several persons to purchase lands under it. He did not satisfy himself with the title granted by Charles II. and his brother he also bought the land of the Indians, which doubtless, was the best right he had on them."

We need not wonder at the energy displayed by Penn to secure himself against the encroachments of Lord Baltimore. The claims set up by the latter, if successful, would have taken all the lands in the province south of the city of Philadelphia, including the three lower counties or territories. It would have deprived him of several sea ports and the command of Delaware Bay. He very justly observes, "If the Lord Baltimore's patent were title good enough for what was another's before, and which he never enjoyed since, Connecticut colony might put in for New York as reasonably as the Lord Baltimore can for Delaware, their patent having that part of the Dutch territories within its bounds, on the same mistake. I must take leave to refer the Lord Baltimore to His Royal Highness, who is a prince, doubtless, of too much honour to keep any man's right, and of too much resolution to deliver up his own; whose example I am resolved to follow."

In addition, the Proprietary resolved to send a letter to his friend the Duke of York, setting forth his grievances and the difficulties he labored under, with an intimation that he would shortly follow Lord Baltimore to England, with a view to giving personally his attention to the great interests at stake. The following is a copy of the address:

TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

"Great Prince.—It is some security to me, and an happiness I must own and honour, that in these my humble and plain addresses, I have to do with a Prince of so great justice and resolution, one that will not be baffled by crafts, nor blinded by affection; and such a Prince with humility be it spoken, becometh the just cause I have to lay before him.

"Since my last, by which I gave the Duke to understand that the Lord Baltimore had sent agents to offer terms to the people, to draw them from their obedience of this government, where his Royal Highness had placed them, and that without having any special order for the same, it hath pleased that lord to commissionate Colonel George Talbot to come, with armed men, within five miles of New Castle town, there upon a spot of ground belonging to one Ogle, that came with Captain Carr, to reduce that place by force, erected a fort of the bodies of trees, raised a breastwork, and palisaded the same, and settled armed men therein. The president of that town and county, together with the sheriff and divers magistrates and

inhabitants of the same, went to the said fort, demanded of Colonel George Talbot the reasons of such actions, being a warlike invasion of the right of his Majesty's subjects, never in his possession. He answered them, after having bid them stand off, presenting guns and muskets at their breasts, that he had Lord Baltimore's commission for what he did. The president being an old experienced man, advised him to depart, and to take heed how he obeyed such commands as these were, since acting in such a way of hostility against the right of his Majesty's subjects not in rebellion, and not by his commission, might cost him and his lord dear in the issue. He still refused, upon which proclamations were made in the King's name, that they should depart, but he, with some more, would not depart but in the name of Lord Baltimore, refusing to go in the King's name; and there the garrison is kept, the commander and soldiers threatening to fire upon and kill all such as shall endeavor to demolish the block-house, and say they have express commands so to do from that lord.

"How far these practices will please the King or Duke is not fit for me to say; but, if not mistaken, I shall be able to make evident by law, he hath almost cancelled his allegiance to the King herein, and exposed himself to his mercy for all he hath in the world. I hear he has gone for England, and was so just to invite me by a letter in March, delivered in the end of April, informing me that towards the end of

March he intended for England. This was contrived that he might get the start of me, that making an interest before I arrived, he might block up my way, and carry the point. But such arts will never do, where there is no matter to work upon, which I am abundantly satisfied they will not, they cannot find in the Duke, with whom I know he hath great reason to ingratiate his cause and malconduct, if he could.

"I am following him as fast as I can, though Colonel Talbot, since his departure, threatened to turn such out by violence, as would not submit to him, and drive their stocks for arrears: believing that the worse the better, I mean the more illegal and disrespectful he and his agents are, to His Majesty and Royal Highness, and humble and patient I am, they will the more favour my so much abused interest. I add no more, but to pray, that a perfect stop be put to all his proceedings till I come, who hope to show myself the King's dutiful and in reference to his American Empire, not unuseful subject, and as well the Duke's most faithful friend, to serve him to my power,

WILLIAM PENN.

"Philadelphia, The 8th of the 4th month (June), 1684."

On the same day Penn addressed another letter to his "Noble and Old Friend" the Earl of Sunderland, who had been his classmate at Oxford University to incline his influence to his cause. As it is entirely too

long for our use (see Memoirs of Hist. Society, vol. IV. pp. 183-6), select the following extracts:

"The station in which it hath pleased his Imperial Majesty to place me in his American Empire, commands this direction from me, and therefore excuseth the freedom of it, though the liberty thy former kindness giveth me would not let me despair of acceptance, at least of pardon. My last gave some account of the carriage of the Lord Baltimore, and his agents in reference to this Province and annexed counties, conveyed to me by deed of feoffment from the Duke: since which time, he hath made great advances with what justice to me duty to his Majesty, and safety to himself, I leave to my superiors to judge."

After going at some length over his difficulties, he remarks that "This doctrine hath tied the hands of the inhabitants of this place from absolute war on this part. I tell them that our great *Justinian* must issue this difference, take this fort and get the victory; and if the Crown itself disowns not the power of raising forces against subjects in rebellion, the Proprietary of Maryland, is more concerned to defend his fort against the King, than we are to defend ourselves against his fort, which is plainly acting in a way of hostility against the subjects of our sovereign lord the King, now under his obedience and protection.

"My humble motion from these premises is this, that though I am following this lord as fast as I can, my circumstances may be so far considered, at the

first, nothing may be done in this affair till I am on the spot. He took care to prolong my notices of his going for England till gone, or just upon it, that I having all to do in reference to the settlement of this country, he might get the start, and endeavour to block up my way: but I hope these acts will find no matter to work upon to my disadvantage. My case is plain and fortified, by the very opposition of my adversary."

Every candid reader, we think, must admit that these letters of Penn are admirable, both in style and logic, with here and there a vein of satire mixed with caustic. This was one of the greatest troubles that attended the foundation of his colony, and to which it clung like a parasite to be fostered by its growth.

The Governor on the 25th appointed James Harrison, William Yardley, Thomas Janney, John Otter, William Beeks, William Biles and Edmund Bennett, Justices of the Peace for the county of Bucks, as the records of the Court inform us. This would already denote a considerable increase in population since the organization of the county. On the 27th, Penn was present at the opening of the Court at Chester.

A meeting of the Council was held in Philadelphia on the 25th of 5th month, at which the Governor proposed a law to suppress the sale of rum to the Indians in quantities. Robert Terrill and all others that are engaged in selling rum as aforesaid are ordered to appear before the Board. For his doings Terrill re-

ceived a reprimand from the Governor on the following day, and a proclamation was ordered to be issued to suppress the same. The Council was in session on the 28th, when they adjourned to the 14th of the following month.

John White and Robert Hall of Bucks county, on the 26th petitioned the "Dear Governor" that "we formerly did take up 1500 acres of land on Neshaminy creek, which our father George White did purchase of thee. After this Edward Lovitt took up land back of us and did run upon our line, taking away a piece of meadow next the creek which John Swart lay claim to. Now this is to beseech thee to be mindful of fulfilling thy former promise, and also to inform thee that most people do look upon it as an unreasonable thing for John Swart to have a piece of meadow two miles from his habitation, without title and intercept us from the benefit of the creek for the width of near 1000 acres. So desiring thee to take this into thy consideration we remain thy loving friends and addressers." (1.) What action the Governor took on this matter is unknown to us, and present it as an item of local interest in our early history not heretofore published.

CHAPTER XV.

PENN'S PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE.—SAFE ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

[*August–October, 1684.*]

WE have now arrived in this work to the beginning of August (6th month), 1684; when Penn had left his home, family and most of his friends one year and eleven months, and was actively engaged in making preparations for his return. As stated on the boundary question, Lord Baltimore had taken the advantage of him in an earlier start to England than he had expected, and in consequence had written to the Duke of York and others that he intended speedily to follow to be enabled to confront him and attend to his claims personally before the Lords of the Committee of Trades and Plantations. It is probable, too, that he may have been also induced to return by hearing of his wife's illness, as we infer from his correspondence.

On the 4th he appointed Nicholas More, William Welch, William Wood, Robert Turner and John Eckley, Provincial Judges for two years from this date;

"you and every of you behaving yourselves well therein, and acting according to the same." Their jurisdiction extended only to "the three Upper Countyes and Towne of Philadelphia." This, in fact, was the origin of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

The Proprietary deemed it prudent before he embarked on his voyage, to appoint three Commissioners to act as guardians in the government of the Province, in the event of his death or any other causality. The following is copied from the original on parchment with the great seal attached, and probably now published for the first time:

"William Penn Proprietary and Governor of ye Province of Pennsilvania & ye Territories thereunto belonging. To my Trusty and Loveing Friends Tho. Lloyd, James Harrison & John Simcock. Not knowing how it may please Almighty God to deal with me in this voyage & considering of how great moment it is that the Administration of ye Government be carefully provided for in case of my Decease, before I return or send any other ordr or Commissions than what I leave behind me, Know yee that out of ye Singular regard I have to ye Wisdome Justice & Fidelity, I have nominated constituted & appointed & do hereby nominate, constitute & appoint you Commissioners and Guardians in Government to my dear Heir Springett Penn, of which the first named to preside according to Charter, & in case of ye decease

of my Heir before he comes of Age, then to ye next successively till of Age. Strictly charging all persons that they yield you ye same Obedience in ye Discharge of your Trust as if I myself were living or ye Minor were of Age, Charging you also before God, Angels and Men, that directly or indirectly you Act nothing to ye Injury of his Right or to ye Detriment of ye People, but that with wisdome you preserve ye Union of their Interests to ye mutual Joy & Benefit of ye Governr & Governmt to ye best of your skill, & in case any of you should decease or remove from ye Province before my Heir come of Age, that then those that survive or remain shall chuse one in his stead for ye service aforesaid. Given at Philadelphia ye Seventh day of ye Sixth Month, One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty Four, being ye Thirty Sixth year of ye King's Reign & ye Fourth of my Government. (1.)

WM. PENN."

Mention has been made of Nicholas More, president of the Society of Free Traders, who arrived here in 9th month, 1682, and who held several important offices. A warrant was granted him the 5th of 11th month of said year, for 9,815 acres which was located and the deed given by Penn on the 7th of 6th month, 1684, and called by him the Manor of Moreland. By the conditions of his patent, Nicholas More, and his heirs and successors, were required to pay forever

unto the Proprietary, and his heirs and successors, a silver English shilling for every one hundred acres annually as quitrent. This payment was equivalent to the interest of $375 at six per cent. About 1685 the Chief Justice commenced the erection of buildings, on the eastern part of his tract, near the present village of Somerton, and where he also built a mansion house, calling the place Green Spring. After his death in 1688, his heirs continued selling off portions of the estate to actual settlers and others, that much the greater portion was sold before 1720. This tract retained its name of Manor of Moreland for a century, or till the erection of Montgomery county in 1784, when it became divided into two townships of the name, one of which was left to Philadelphia.

Before his departure, Penn was called upon to settle an important question concerning the interests of Philadelphia. This was in relation to the front lots on the river Delaware. As has been stated, he reserved the river bank for the use of the public, and as conducing to the health of the city. Those who owned the lots adjoining on the westward, claimed also the right to build vaults or stores on the aforesaid, opposite their property. He decided that they had no more right to build there than those living elsewhere in the city, and that he designed the same as a public walk and for the common benefit forever.

On the 14th, Penn held a meeting of his Council at Lewis, near Cape Henlopen, Sussex county, and where

we know by the following document addressed to T. Holme, Surveyor General, that he remained there at least till the 16th:

"William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Territories thereunto belonging. At the request of Ralph Fretwell and Company, that I would grant him to take up a Tract of Land either in the County of Chester or Philadelphia on Schuylkill. These are to require thee to survey unto him, if in the County of Chester so much Land there, not under Ten Miles and not exceeding Twelve Miles square, and if on Schuylkill beginning on the hither end of the long Island called Barbadoes and to run upward on each side of Schuylkill six miles on the Water side, not to go less backward than Seven Miles, nor to exceed Twelve on each side where not already taken up according to the Method of Townships, and make returns thereof unto my Secretary's office. Given at Lewis ye 16th, 6th mo. 1684." (1.)

It is surprising that the island of Barbadoes at Norristown should at this early period already have borne this name which it has ever since retained. It indicates likewise an earlier acquaintance along the Schuylkill than would have been otherwise supposed, and it was very probably visited by Penn in one of his journeys.

The Proprietary had made arrangements to take his

passage in the ketch or brig Endeavour of London, George Thorp, master; who had made a previous trip to Philadelphia in September of last year. It is possible that he embarked on the 16th, or the following day when he communicated from on board for those he left behind an affectionate valedictory. It was addressed "For Thomas Lloyd, J. Claypoole, J. Simcock, Ch. Taylor and James Harrison, to be communicated in meetings in Pennsylvania, &c., among Friends." The whole may be seen in Proud (vol. I. p. 189), from which we select the following extracts:

"Dear Friends, My love and my life is to you, and with you; and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or, bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and near to me, beyond utterance. I bless you, in the name and power of the Lord; and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace and plenty, all the land over. And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth, and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee. So dear friends, my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly among you; so says, so prays, your friend and lover in the truth, WILLIAM PENN."

"From on board the Ketch Endeavour, the Sixth month, 1684."

Clarkson says that "The day on which he sailed was the twelfth of August," which error I find has been copied by one or two others.

The Council met at New Castle on the 18th, Thomas Lloyd, president, and the following members present: Wm. Welch, James Harrison, John Simcock, Thomas Holme, and Edmond Cantwell. A commission from the Governor was read, authorizing the Provincial Council to act in his place, and Thomas Lloyd to be president of the same, who was commissioned to have charge of the great seal.

After a voyage of about forty-seven days, Penn landed at Wonder in Sussex, within seven miles of his house at Worminghurst. From a letter to his steward, James Harrison, at Pennsbury, dated from said place the 7th of 8th month, '84, he says, "Last Sixth day being the 3d inst., I got safe to my family, and found them all well to my joy in the Lord." We extract from the same some additional information:

"Phil. Lemain* has, most carelessly, left behind the York papers that Thomas Lloyd brought, and should have come as the ground and very strength of my coming. He would not have done me a worse injury, nor balked a greater service, if he had the bribe of £1000 to do it. Wherefore let him be quickened to

* Philip Theodore Lehman was his private secretary, died in 1687.

send them by the first ship that comes out of Maryland or Virginia. Let Thomas Lloyd step to York and get fresh affidavits of the three men that can swear the Dutch possession of river and bay, before Baltimore's patents in the governor's presence and under the great seal of the province.

"By East come wine and strong beer; let the beer be sold for as much profit as is reasonable, and some of the wine. Some may be kept for me, especially sack and such like, to be better for age. There are seeds for Ralph, value here four pounds and odd money. By an Irish ship comes value 150 pounds in provisions, butter, cheese, beer, shoes, &c. Let Ralph follow his garden, and get the yards fenced in, and doors to them. Expect news and further directions by the next ship. I have sent some walnuts for Ralph to set, and other seeds of our own that are rare and good. Quicken T. Lloyd and P. Lemain as aforesaid. Farewell in the love of God."

Though written, as will be noticed, but four days after his arrival home, the aforesaid shows his extraordinary activity in setting about his business, not only in securing things for his Pennsbury estate, but also in attending to and advancing his other interests. This certainly shows that he was a man of persevering and industrious habits.

We learn from his "Apology for Himself," published in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsyl-

vania (vol. III., part II., p. 235), that on his arrival home "after some days of refreshment," he says, "I went to wait upon the King and Duke, then both at New Market, who received me very graciously, as did the ministers very civilly."

As soon as he could secure the requisite leisure from his public and private duties, he did not forget to write to Margaret, the widow of his celebrated friend George Fox, residing at Swarthmoor Hall, announcing his safe return and briefly touching on his American experiences. Dixon in his Biography alludes to this letter, which has been preserved in the Thirnbeck collection of old manuscripts at Bristol. We give the following as the most interesting extracts from the same:

"London, 29th, 8th mo., 1684.

"Dear M. Fox. Whom my heart loveth and honoureth in the Lord, remembering thee in the ancient love and path of life which is most glorious in mine eyes; yea, excellent above all visible things. Dear Margaret, herein it is I enjoy the fellowship of thy spirit above time and distance, floods, and many waters. It is now a few days above three weeks since I arrived well in my native land. It was within seven miles of my own house that we landed. I found my dear wife and her children well, to the overcoming of my heart because of the mercies of the Lord to us.

"I have not missed a meal's meat or a night's rest since I went out of the country, and wonderfully hath

the Lord preserved me through many troubles in the settlements I have made, both as to the government and the soil. I find many wrong stories let in of me, even by some I love; but blessed be the Lord, they are the effects of envy. Our meetings are blessed, and I think there are eighteen in number in the province. I have seen the King and the Duke. They and their nobles were very kind to me, and I hope the Lord will make way for me in their hearts, in order to serve His suffering people as well as my own interest."

CHAPTER XVI.

PENN WRITES AND HAS PUBLISHED ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF HIS PROVINCE.

No sooner had the Proprietary got fairly settled down and his most urgent business dispatched, than he set himself earnestly to work in his intervals of leisure to make out another and more complete account of his beloved province. In about fourteen months after his return he had ready for the press, and appeared in an octavo pamphlet of twenty pages. Its title is "A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania and its Improvements. For the Satisfaction of those that are adventurers, and inclined to be so." It is dated from "Worminghurst-Place, 12th of the 10th Month, '85," and signed with his name. The original pamphlet must now be rare, the writer having met with but one. It was republished at London two years after in "The Present State of His Majesty's Iles and Territories in America," by Richard Blome. It is quite interesting, and contains considerable statistical matter that is not to be found in any previous publication. By these works Penn certainly deserves a place amongst the early writers on America, in fact, it ap-

pears to have escaped his biographers, who at any rate have given but little attention to his struggles and plans at colonization, and for which the numerous descendants of his colonists owe him gratitude. We have carefully gone over this work and prepared therefrom the following abstract in his own language sufficient for this chapter:

"It has, I know, been much expected from me, that I should give some farther narrative of those parts of America, where I am chiefly interested, and have lately been; having continued there above a year after my former relation, and receiving since my return, the freshest and fullest advices of its progress and improvement. But as the reason of my coming back, was a difference between the Lord Baltimore and myself, about the lands of Delaware, in consequence, reputed of mighty moment to us, so I waived publishing anything that might look in favour of the country or inviting to it, whilst it lay under the discouragement and disreputation of that Lord's claims and pretences.

"But since they are, after many fair and full hearings, before the Lords of the Committee for Plantations justly and happily dismissed, and the things agreed; and that the letters that daily press me from all parts, on the subject of America, and are so voluminous, that to answer them severally, were a task too heavy, and repeated to perform, I have thought it most easy to the inquirer, as well as to myself, to make this

account public, lest my silence, or a more private intimation of things, should disoblige the just inclinations of any to America, and at a time too, when an extraordinary Providence seems to favour its plantation, and open a door to Europeans to pass thither. That then which is my part to do in this advertisement is, First to relate our progress, especially since my last of the month called August, '83. Secondly, the capacity of the place for further improvement, in order to trade and commerce. Lastly, which way those are adventurers, or incline to be so, may employ their money to a fair and secure profit; such as shall encourage poor and rich, which cannot fail of advancing the country in consequence.

"We have had about ninety sail of ships with passengers since the beginning of '82, and not one vessel, designed to the province through God's mercy, hitherto miscarried. The estimate of the people may be thus made; eighty to each ship, which comes to seven thousand two hundred persons. At least a thousand there before, with such as from other places in our neighbourhood are since come to reside among us; and I presume the births at least equal to the burials. The people are a collection of divers nations in Europe: as, French, Dutch, Germans, Swedes, Danes, Finns, Scotch-Irish, and English; and of the last equal to all the rest.

"Philadelphia our intended metropolis, as I formerly wrote, is two miles long, and a mile broad, and at each

end it lies a mile upon a navigable river. The situation high and dry, yet replenished with running streams. Besides the High street that runs in the middle from river to river, and is a hundred feet broad, it has eight streets more that run the same course, the least of which is fifty feet in breadth. And besides Broad street, which crosses the town in the middle, and is also a hundred feet wide, there are twenty streets more, that run the same course, and are also fifty feet broad. The names of those streets are mostly taken from the things that spontaneously grow in the country.

"I mentioned in my last account, that from my arrival in '82, to the date thereof, being ten months, we had got up four-score houses at our town, and that some villages were settled about it. From that time to my coming away, which was a year within a few weeks, the town advanced to three hundred and fifty-seven houses; divers of them, large, well built, with good cellars, three stories, and some with balconies. There are two markets every week and two fairs every year. In other places markets also, as at Chester and New Castle. Some vessels have been here built, and many boats; divers brickerys going on, and some brick houses going up. The improvements of the place is best measured, by the advance of value upon every man's lot. I will venture to say, that the worst lot in the town, without any improvements upon it, is worth four times more than it was when it was laid out, and the best forty.

"Of country settlements I had in my view, society, assistance, easy commerce, instruction of youth, government of people's manners, conveniency of religious assembling, encouragement of mechanics, distinct and beaten roads, and it has answered in all these respects, I think to all universal content. I said nothing in my last of any number of townships, but there were at least fifty settled before my leaving those parts, which was in the month called August, 1684. I mention this to confute the objections that lie against those parts, as if that, first, English grass would not grow; next not enough to mow; and lastly not firm enough to feed, from the levity of the mould.

"Of the produce of our waters. Alloes, as they call them in France, the Jews allice, and our ignorants, shads, are excellent fish, and of the bigness of our largest carp. They are so plentiful, that Captain Smith's overseer, at the Schuylkill, drew six hundred and odd at one draught, three hundred is no wonder, one hundred familiarly. They are excellent pickled or smoked as well as boiled fresh. They are caught by nets only. There is so great an increase in grain, by the diligent application of people to husbandry, that within three years, some plantations have got twenty-acres in corn, some forty, some fifty.

"It is fit now, that I give some advertisement to adventurers, which way they may lay out their money to best advantage, so as it may yield them fair returns,

and with content to all concerned, which is the last part of my present task; and I must needs say so much wanting, that it has perhaps given some occasion to ignorance and prejudice to run without mercy, measure or distinction against America, of which Pennsylvania to be sure has had its share.

"Many stories have been prejudicially propagated, as if we were upon ill terms with the natives, and sometimes, like Job's kindred, all are cut off but the messenger that brought the tidings. I think it requisite to say this much, that as there never was any such messenger, so the dead people were alive, at our last advices. So far are we from ill terms with the natives, that we have lived in great friendship, I have made seven purchases, and in pay and presents they have received at least twelve hundred pounds of me. Our humanity has obliged them so far, that they generally leave their guns at home, when they come to our settlements; they offer us no affront, not so much as to one of our dogs. If any of them break our laws, they submit to be punished by them, and to this they have tied themselves by an obligation under their hands. We leave not the least indignity to them unrebuked, nor wrong unsatisfied. Justice gains and awes them. They have some great men amongst them, I mean for wisdom, truth and justice.

"The government is according to the words of the grant as near to the English as conveniently may be. In the whole, we aim at duty to the King, the preser-

vation of rights to all, the suppression of vice and encouragement of virtue and arts; with liberty to all people to worship Almighty God, according to their faith and persuasion.

"Though ships go hence at all times of the year, it must be acknowledged, that to go so as to arrive at spring or fall is best. I propose therefore, that ships go hence about the middle of the months called February and August, which allowing two months for passage, reaches time enough to plant in the spring such things as are carried hence, and in the fall to get a small cottage, and clear some land against the next spring. I have made a discovery of about one hundred miles west, and find those back lands richer in soil, wood and fountains, than that by Delaware; especially upon the Susquehanna river.

"I must confess I prefer the fall to come hither, believing it is more healthy to be followed with winter than summer; though, through the great goodness and mercy of God, we have had an extraordinary portion of health, for so new and numerous a colony. The passage is not to be set by any man; for ships will be quicker or slower. Some have been four months, and some but one and as often. Generally between six and nine weeks. One year, of four and twenty sail, I think, there was not three above nine, and there was one or two under six weeks in passage.

"And because some have urged my coming back, as an argument against the place, and the probability

of its improvement; adding, that I would for that reason never return. I think fit to say, that next summer God willing, I intend to go back, and carry my family, and the best part of my personal estate with me. And this I do, not only of duty, but inclination and choice. God will bless and prosper poor America.

"Now for you that think of going thither, I have this to say, by way of caution; if an hair of our head falls not to the ground, without the providence of God, remember, your removal is of greater moment. Wherefore have a due reverence and regard to his good Providence, as becomes a people that profess a belief in Providence. Go clear in yourselves, and of all others. Be moderate in expectation, count on labor before a crop, and cost before gain, for such persons will best endure difficulties, if they come, and bear the success, as well as find the comfort that usually follow such considerate undertakings."

CHAPTER XVII.

OPINIONS RESPECTING THE RESULTS OF PENN'S LABORS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HIS COLONY.

WE propose in this chapter to give the opinions of various persons respecting the results of the Proprietary's labors, from near the time of his grant in 1681 till his return to the province in October, 1699. Few we can say have earned such encomiums as we here present, bestowed voluntarily from the time that he was still amongst men in active life till near this day. Such tributes to the worthy tend to exalt human nature, and show that mankind are not altogether ungrateful, or else such actions would soon pass to oblivion.

"Mr. Penn," remarks Oldmixon (British Emp. in America, 1708), "staid in Pennsylvania two years, and would not then have removed to England, had not the persecution against the Dissenters raged violently, that he could not think of enjoying peace in America, while his brethren in England were so cruelly dealt with in Europe. He knew he had an interest in the Court of England, and was willing to employ it for the safety, ease and welfare of his friends; so having made a

league of amity with nineteen Indian nations, between them and all the English in America, having established good laws, and seen his capital so well inhabited, that there were then near three hundred houses and 2500 souls in it, besides twenty other townships, he returned to England leaving the administration in the hands of the Council, whose President was Thomas Lloyd, Esq. who by virtue of office held the government several years, though he had no commission then to be Deputy or Lieutenant Governor; Mr. Penn kept the chief government always to himself, as Lord Proprietary. What service this gentleman did the Quakers, in King James' reign, and how far that prince gave him his ear, is well known to all that are acquainted with the history of those times, still fresh in our memories."

Richard Townsend, a fellow passenger in the *Welcome*, in his Testimony written about 1727, says, "As our worthy Proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As in other countries, the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection." Oldmixon in 1708 estimated the Indians residing within the limits of the province at about 6000, composed of "ten nations."

"Justice cannot be done the character of Penn," remarks Armstrong (Address before the Historical

Society of Pennsylvania, Nov. 8, 1851), "unless we view it in contrast with the age in which he lived. He foresaw the progress of freedom, and displayed no less courage, than sagacity. For the doctrines we have just quoted, were the terror of the very king from whom he received his charter; their practical enforcement overturned the throne of his father, and were the warrant for his trial and execution; and yet they were published and avowed by Penn; and framed with the assistance of the lamented Sidney, whose life the government had then determined, if possible, to take, and who, two years afterwards, for asserting upon paper, the same principles of republican liberty, perished on the scaffold. Perhaps no branch of inquiry has been so much the subject of theory as the science of government. But few of those who have thought about it, have had the misfortune to suffer, to the full extent, the infliction of the evils they strove to remedy, or the good fortune to realize their cherished speculations. Penn had both. A Charles was on the throne; Locke had not written his glorious letters on toleration; the revolution had not taken place; the people, benumbed, as it were, by the political convulsions through which they had just passed, slumbered, so that no oppression, however enormous, seemed sufficient to arouse them. Our Proprietary was therefore eminently fitted for the task which Providence had assigned him. Mark how broadly he lays the foundations of religious freedom.

"The stay of the Proprietary at this time was too brief for his own interests, and those of his colonists. But he remained long enough to leave the impress of wise legislation. His devotion to the principles of peace with all men—his hatred of superstition and religious persecution—and his humanity to the Indian, were in grateful contrast with the conduct of other colonies. As to his uniform treatment of the Indians, we regard the fact that not one of that race was ever known to shed, within our borders, the blood of a member of the Society of Friends, except in two instances, where there was reason to suppose they had forsaken their peaceful principles, as a signal proof of the soundness of his policy towards them."

"Returning from America in 1684," says James Parton, "he arrived in time to witness the accession to the throne of James II, his father's friend, and his own. Then was presented the strange spectacle, upon which Macauley descants so bitterly, of the great Quaker high in favor at the court of a Catholic king. It has not been shown, however, that Penn used his court favor for any but humane purposes. At his intercession the King released from prison thirteen hundred Quakers, confined for conscience sake; and at the same time the King set at liberty a still greater number of Catholics, some of whom had been in prison for years. Crowds surrounded the door and followed the footsteps of the Quaker favorite, asking his influence with the King. He experienced the usual lot of a favorite,

in being envied and traduced. He told his slanderers that the King had been his father's friend from of old, and that his father, on his death-bed, had obtained from the King a promise that he would protect his son from the inconveniences arising from his religious persuasion. 'I say,' he wrote, 'that when this is all considered, anybody that has the least pretense to good nature, gratitude, or generosity, must needs know how to interpret my access to the King.'"

"Meantime," says Bancroft (Hist. U. S.), "the news spread abroad, that William Penn, the Quaker, had opened 'an asylum to the good and oppressed of every nation;' and humanity went through Europe, gathering the children of misfortune. From England and Wales, from Scotland and Ireland, and the Low Countries, emigrants crowded to the land of promise. On the banks of the Rhine, it was whispered that the plans of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstiern were consummated; new companies were formed under better auspices than those of the Swedes; and from the highlands above Worms, the humble people who had melted at the eloquence of Penn, the Quaker emissary, renounced their German homes for the protection of the Quaker king. There is nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which the simple virtues and institutions of William Penn inspired. The progress of his province was more rapid than the progress of New England. In three years from its foundation, Philadelphia gained more than New York

had done in half a century. This was the happiest season in the public life of William Penn. 'I must, without vanity, say'—such was his honest exultation —'I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it, are to be found among us.'" The aforesaid estimated the population of Pennsylvania and Delaware in 1688 at 12,000.

Upon the publication of his Frame of Government and Proposals, "many respectable families (Art. Penn, Amer. Ency.) removed to the new province; the city of Philadelphia was laid out upon the banks of the Delaware; and in 1682, the proprietor visited his newly acquired territory, where he remained about two years, adjusting its concerns, and establishing a friendly intercourse with his colonial neighbors; during which period no less than fifty sail arrived with settlers from England, Ireland, Wales, Holland, and Germany. Soon after Penn returned to England, King Charles died; and the respect which James II bore to the late Admiral, who had recommended his son to his favor, procured him free access at court. He made use of this advantage to solicit the discharge of his persecuted brethren, fifteen hundred of whom remained in prison at the decease of the late King."

Oldmixon, who enjoyed a personal acquaintance, expresses the opinion that Penn "was generous and free of his thoughts and expressions, which were not al-

ways sufficiently guarded; and after the Revolution, he became suspected, on account of his great access to the abdicated King, who was then Duke of York." There may be truth in this and which led to his subsequent arrest, so natural to great minds in their expressions regarding right and wrong.

Ellis, in speaking of his departure, remarks (Life of Penn) that "He had witnessed high prosperity, and the promises of yet greater all around him, beneath the gentle influences of his government. He had, for the most part, industrious, pure, and religious men and women for his helpers. When he returned to England, there were about seven thousand people and three hundred houses on his patent."

"Soon after," says Thomas Clarkson, "he sailed—to the regret of the whole colony; to the regret of the Dutch, Swedes and Germans, whom he had admitted into full citizenship with the rest, and who had found in him an impartial Governor and a kind friend;—to the regret of the Indians, who had been overcome by his love, care, and concern for them; and to the regret of his own countrymen, who had partaken more or less of that generosity which was one of the most prominent features of his character. And here I may observe, with respect to his generosity, that the whole colony had experienced it; for it ought never to be forgotten, that when the first Assembly offered him an impost on a variety of goods both imported and exported (which impost in a course of years would have

become a large revenue of itself), he nobly refused it; thus showing that his object in coming among them was not that of his own aggrandizement but for the promotion of a public good."

"At the time of his return," remarks James Bowden (Hist. Friends in America, London, 1854, vol. II. p. 11), "from Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1684, the city could number three hundred and fifty-seven houses, 'divers of them', he says, 'large and well built with cellars;' and at least fifty townships had been settled. In little more than two years from its settlement, ninety ships, bringing, according to the estimate of William Penn, an average of eighty passengers in each, or in all seven thousand two hundred, had arrived in the colony, these together with the previous colonists and those from the adjacent settlements, gave a population of about nine thousand to the province.

"In three years from its foundation Philadelphia had gained more than New York had done in half a century, and the progress of the province was more rapid than even New England. Already schools had been established, and the printing press was at work, sowing broadcast the seeds of morality and religion. In the Tenth month, 1683, Enoch Flower, in a dwelling formed of pine and cedar planks, commenced the work of education; his terms being 'to learn to read, four shillings a quarter; to write, six shillings; boarding scholars, to wit—diet, lodging, washing and schooling, ten pounds the whole year.' One of the

earliest productions of the printing press was an epistle by John Burnyeat, in 1686. In New England the press was not in operation until eighteen years after its settlement. In New York seventy-three years elapsed before any book or paper was printed, and in North Carolina a still longer period."

From an Address by Peter S. Du Ponceau, on the Early History of Pennsylvania, delivered June 6th, 1821, before the American Philosophical Society, we select the following eloquent extract:

"But I must leave it to the future historian to delineate the character of a legislator who never had a model, and who, though crowned with success, will probably never have an imitator. He will describe the state of this country, during the two years of that great man's residence here after his arrival, he will tell us how a legislature was formed and assembled within six weeks at most after his landing, whose first act was to recognize as brethren all who believed in one God, the upholder and ruler of the universe; how a code of laws was enacted in three days, founded on the genuine principles of religion, justice and morality; he will show the territory which now forms the state of Delaware, united to this province in legislation as well as in government, the friendship of the Indians secured, large territories obtained of them by fair and honourable purchase, a noble city founded, and its walls rapidly rising as it were by enchantment, the country increasing in population and wealth, and enjoying un-

disturbed peace, prosperity, and happiness, until his absence showed how much all these things were due to the immediate operation of his powerful mind." A legislator who never had a model, and who, though crowned with success, will probably never have an imitator. A passage worthy of repetition.

Robert Turner, in a letter to Penn dated Philadelphia, 3d of 6th month, 1685, says, "Now as to the town of Philadelphia it goeth on in planting and building to admiration, both in the front and backward, and there are about six hundred houses in three years time. The manufacture of linen by the Germans goes on finely, and they make fine linen: Samuel Carpenter having been lately there, declares they had gathered one crop of flax, and had sowed for the second, and saw it come up well. I thought fit to signify thus much, knowing thou wouldst be glad to hear of the people and province's welfare; the Lord preserve us all, and make way for thy return, which is much desired, not only by our Friends, but all sorts."

Gabriel Thomas who arrived in the province a few months after the Proprietary, and resided here fifteen years when he returned to London, where he had published a small octavo pamphlet of 34 pages, entitled "An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania; and of West New Jersey." For its size contains considerable information relating to those colonies at that time. He dedicated

it "to the most noble and excellent Governour Friend William Penn."

"While the colonists of Pennsylvania," remarks Janney, "were busily and happily engaged in clearing their grounds, erecting their habitations and houses for worship, establishing meetings, and enjoying all the blessings of civil and religious liberty; their sympathies were awakened by the sufferings of their brethren in Great Britain, who were subjected to the severest persecution. The laws against non-conformists continued to be enforced with rigour, persons who met peaceably for the performance of divine worship were persecuted as rioters, their meetings were broken up by armed troops, and many hundreds of men and women, separated from their families, were confined in noisome prisons, where some had remained for years, and others were released only by death." A few days after Penn's return, as we learn from his letter to Margaret Fox, in alluding to his visit to the King, the Duke and principal nobles, says, "I hope the Lord will make way for me in their hearts, in order to serve His suffering people as well as my own interest."

We will conclude this subject, which could be greatly extended, with the following extracts taken from a sketch of Penn, published in the "Friends' Moral Almanac" for the year 1872:

"The code of laws which Penn prepared for the province was exalted in aim, comprehensive in scope;

yet with slender exceptions, its details were marvellously practical, and if he had not the genius of the ruler, he had, as few have had, the genius of the legislator. The work of organization under Penn's vigorous and sagacious guidance rapidly proceeded. A few Swedes and Dutch had previously settled in Pennsylvania, but colonists from most various regions of the Old World now poured in. Universal toleration was proclaimed, a charter of liberties was solemnly consecrated and a democratic government was established. In his dealings with the Indians and their chiefs, Penn manifested his accustomed magnanimity and justice. The capital city Philadelphia, was planned on a scale commensurate with Pennsylvania's expected greatness. Penn's family was in England. Hearing that his wife was ill; hearing that his friend Algernon Sidney had perished on the scaffold; hearing that the fury of fanaticism was rivalling with the fury of vice; he, intrusting his unfinished undertakings to such men as he deemed competent, hurried anxiously back."

"During the reign of James II, Penn was continually at court, yet from no selfish or servile reasons. James had been his father's friend, and he had always been glad and prompt to help Penn himself. He therefore entered the palace that he might give the King wise counsels tending towards mercy. The overthrow of James (near the close of 1688) was in more than one respect a misfortune to Penn. In the spring of 1690 he was arrested on the charge of

holding treasonable correspondence with the dethroned monarch. The absurdity of the charge being glaringly evident he was set at liberty. Yet though his conduct continued to be blameless, he was, by an order in council, stripped, third month, 14th, 1692, of his title to the Pennsylvania government, a tyrannical act involving his utter ruin; for besides that he had risked his whole substance in the Pennsylvania experiment, his estates, both in England and Ireland, had been grievously mismanaged by incompetent or dishonest overseers. An order in council capriciously restored to Penn, in 1694, that Government of which they had robbed him."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—SEVERAL MATTERS ABOUT PENN AND PENSBURY.

In his letter to Margaret Fox, dated London 29th of 8th month, 1684; a few weeks after his return, Penn states, "Our meetings are blessed, and I think there are eighteen in the province." After giving some attention to the matter we infer that the exact number at that time was eighteen, of which five were in the present limits of Philadelphia, three in Montgomery county, six in Delaware, one in Chester and four in Bucks. These constituted eight Monthly meetings called Philadelphia, Chester, Abington, Concord, Darby, Radnor, Falls and Neshaminy or Middletown. These were comprised in three Quarterly meetings, called Philadelphia, formed in 1682, Chester in 1683, and Bucks in 1684.

This shows an extraordinary increase in two years, as previous to the Proprietary's arrival meetings had been held only at three places, namely at Upland, Falls and Shackamaxon in private houses. This, of course, had been greatly aided by persecution in the parent country and which was still to bring thousands more.

So numerous were the Friends in Philadelphia in 1684, that it has been stated (Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, vol. X., p. 92) that the usual attendance at First day meetings was about eight hundred, which is re-remarkable when we consider the various difficulties incident to the opening of a new country in the wilderness.

Robert Turner* in a letter to Penn dated Philadelphia, 3d of 6th mo, 1685, says, "We are now laying the foundation of a large plain brick house, for a Meeting house in the Centre, sixty feet long and forty broad, and hope to have it up soon, many hearts and hands at work will do it. A large Meeting house, fifty feet long and thirty-eight broad, also going up on the front of the river for an evening meeting, the work going on apace." Penn gave a lot of ground for a Meeting house at Falls, Bucks county, in 1683, but we believe none was erected thereon till 1690, which the records tell us was built of brick, twenty-five by twenty feet in size and not finished till in the spring of 1692. The Neshaminy or Middletown Meeting house was built about the same time. All meetings for worship in Bucks county were previously held in private houses.

William Rawle, in his Address delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, November 5th, 1825, pays this compliment to the early Friends. "There departure from their native

* A merchant from Dublin, one of the proprietors in 1681 of East New Jersey, died in 1701.

lands was unrestrained and almost unnoticed. In quietness they embarked and in quietness they landed. Here they encountered no embittered foe, they met no herds of indignant natives thronging to resist them, for the natives were already partially acquainted with Englishmen, and with this particular description of Englishmen. Several years before the date of William Penn's charter, the Society of Friends had begun to settle in New Jersey. They had fixed themselves at Salem and at Burlington, and the vessels which brought out additions to their numbers had occasionally stopped at New Castle, and at Shackamaxon, now Kensington. Many Swedish settlements between these points, including Chester and Tinicum, had already proved the tractable disposition of the natives, and all was harmony and peace between them."

"For many years," remarks Peter McCall in his Address (Historical Society, 1832), "the population of the colony was chiefly composed of members of the same religious denomination. Philadelphia was emphatically a Quaker city—Pennsylvania a Quaker province; and when their numbers and their importance receded before the flood of immigration, the memory of their services, and the influence of their virtues, enabled them still to sway the councils of the growing nation. They gave a tone to our manners, they gave a temper to our laws. The leading actors on the arena of public life, the objects of popular applause and proprietary favour, the Logans and the

Lloyds, the Shippens and the Norris's, were prominent members of that Society.

"The Founder himself afforded a striking illustration of Verulam's beautiful remark, that 'virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed.' Twice expelled his paternal roof, and twice confined in the tower of London for his inflexible adherence to a prescribed sect, he maintained, through every vicissitude of fortune, a spirit which no tyranny could daunt. It would have been no difficult measure for the Quakers to have erected for themselves an ecclesiastical superiority in Pennsylvania, long regarded as the peculiar asylum of their sect. But such an establishment was equally hostile to their religious tenets and their political sentiments. Universal liberty of conscience and equality of worship were made the corner-stone of their building, written in capitals on the final charter, and declared to be an indestructible element of the constitution of Pennsylvania."

At a meeting of the Council held in Philadelphia the 9th of 11th month, 1685, Captain Thomas Holme was president and William Markham secretary; we find mention in the minutes of a singular occurrence. The Secretary reported to the Council that in the chronology of the Almanac of Samuel Atkins, printed by William Bradford, both of said place mention was made therein in these words, "the beginning of Government here by ye Lord Penn." Council sent

for the said Atkins and ordered him to blot out the words "Lord Penn;" and likewise for Bradford and gave him strict charge, "not to print any thing but what shall have Lycense from ye Councill." This is the only instance known to us of the Council interfering with the press.

We find in the "Conditions and Consessions" agreed upon in England by Penn with "those who are adventurers and purchasers in the said province" July 11th, 1681, the following in the seventeenth article: "That all shall mark their hogs, sheep, and other cattle, and what are not marked within three months after it is in their possession, be it young or old, it shall be forfeited to the governor, that so people may be compelled to avoid the occasion of much strife between planters." A law was passed in the beginning of 1683 for the "Punishment of those that shall presume to alter their Neighbor's Eare or Brand Mark." Phineas Pemberton as clerk kept a record of all these marks for Bucks county, commencing with the year 1684. The original of which, containing the names of one hundred and five persons with the peculiar marks belonging to each, has lately been presented to the Historical Society. The first entry by the Clerk reads "The marks of my cattle, P. P. the 10th, 6 mo. 1684." Among others we find that of "William Penn Proprietary and Govrnr, His Earmarke, cropped on both Eares. His Brandmarke on the nearor sholder $\frac{WP}{PG.}$" This record comes down to 1693, after which only a

few transfers were made. Luke Brinsley was the "Rainger" whose duties were to see the enforcements of the laws relating thereto. In my researches I remember meeting with a commission from Penn to one Roberts to be the Ranger of Philadelphia county, but had no date. It certainly belonged to this period.

Penn appointed James Harrison at Lewis on the 15th of 6th month, 1684, to be his steward at Pennsbury. This was but a day or two before his embarkation. Harrison having been there on the 14th at a meeting of the Council. The duties of this office embraced the oversight of "the servants, building, &c., and what relates to the place, to receive and pay,—take, and put away every servant;—to receive all strangers, and to place as to lodgings." His wife was to "overlook the maids in the dairy, accountable for inferior matters to her." For this service, being merely "oversight" as Penn remarks, he offered to allow them "a couple of chambers and a horse, and besides meat, drink, washing and lodging, forty pounds the first year, and fifty ever after; which I conceive," he says, "will be a clear subsistance. I have truth and virtue in my eye for my family."

From a letter sent to Harrison by Penn in England, dated 7th of the following 8th month, he mentions sending a variety of seeds for Ralph, the gardener, and directs him to set the walnuts, and have the yards fenced in. He forwards also to the steward, "provisions, butter, cheese, beer, shoes, &c." On the 12th

of 1st month, 1686, Penn sends "Instructions" to William Markham, Thomas Ellis and John Goodson, in which he says, "I desire and order you to see that they are paid my inferior servants, that James Harrison my loving Steward employs for that service, that so my family may be maintained, my improvements go on, and what is owing discharged. The last day of this month there will be two years due, which I expect to a farthing, for that is like to be my supply at last, and because my new rents are to be paid in money or silver, not in produce." He here makes reference to his quit-rents which for the entire county of Bucks was payable at Pennsbury, and in which they seem to have been very backward. At this early day it was no doubt expected to become a great place, for we find at a meeting of the Court in 1692, it was ordered that Pennsbury be erected into a separate township, but of which we hear nothing afterwards.

James Harrison continued in the office of steward till his death, which took place the 6th of 8th month, 1687, at the age of sixty-two years. John Sotcher succeeded him with Mary Lofty as housekeeper. It appears from Penn's correspondence that gardeners, carpenters and others were nearly constantly employed here in making improvements and repairs, while strange to say but only a few acres of ground were cleared and adapted to agricultural purposes, which will in part account why the Proprietary was at so much expense in sending provisions here. J. Francis

Fisher, in his private life of Wm. Penn, published in the Memoirs of the Historical Society (vol. III. part II.), mentions that his favorite mode of traveling was by water, and that he kept a barge furnished with a sail, and manned by a boatswain, a cockswain, and six oarsmen. That his visits to and from Pennsbury to Shackamaxon, Philadelphia, Chester, New Castle, Burlington, The Falls and other places were generally performed in this way, the roads at this time being few and difficult to travel and without bridges.

CHAPTER XIX.

PENN REINSTATED IN HIS GOVERNMENT.—RESOLVES TO RETURN.—PROPOSES A UNION OF THE COLONIES.

BUT a few months after the return of Penn to his native land, great changes were to take place in the affairs of government, and to continue for several years to agitate the country and eventually culminate in revolution. King Charles II died of an apoplectic fit, February 6th, 1685, and was peaceably succeeded by his brother the Duke of York under the title of James II. The late King, owing to his affability, generosity and politeness, at one time had become extremely popular, but through a long course of profligacy, extravagance and perfidy he lost the confidence of his subjects. James had always been the friend of Penn and to his credit we believe never relaxed in the confidence that he retained for him. This affection was not misplaced and led to a great amount of good, in the discharge of many hundreds from loathsome prisons, who had been languishing there for years for not conforming to the principles of the established church.

On the 16th of the 1st month (March), Penn sent a letter to Thomas Lloyd, in which he gives the follow-

ing interesting account: "The King is dead, and the Duke succeeds peaceably. He was well on First-day night, being the first of February (so-called); about eight next morning, as he sat down to shave, his head twitched both ways, or sides, and he gave a shriek, and fell as dead, and so remained some hours; they opportunely blooded and cupped him, and plied his head with red-hot frying pans. He returned (revived), and continued till Sixth day noon, but mostly in great tortures. He seemed very penitent, asking pardon of all, even the poorest subject he had wronged; prayed for pardon, and to be delivered out of the world—the Duke appearing mighty humble and sorrowful. He was an able man for a divided and troubled kingdom. The present King was proclaimed about three o'clock that day. A proclamation followed, with the King's speech, to maintain the church and state as established, to keep property and use clemency."

On hearing of the distracted condition of affairs in the government of the Province, Penn sent to the Council the following letter of excellent advice which does him great credit. Owing to its length we have reluctantly omitted a portion:

"Esteemed Friends and Counsellors.

"I salute you all with true and unfeigned love, wishing you temporal and eternal prosperity, whether I ever or never should see you more. The noise of some differences that have been in the Province have

reached these parts, with no advantage to the reputation of the country. If any thing be amiss let it be by more hidden and gentle ways remedied. An infancy of government can hardly bear the shakes a riper age may and sometimes, as a last remedy, must endure. That is no where commendable, but in government dangerous, next to religious duty, self denial in the administration of a government is both requisite and laudable. I recommend it to you in prudence and concience. If faults are committed, let them be mended without noise and animosity; the pomp and clatter of complaint is oftentimes a greater grievance to the public than that the thing complained of.

"Three things I do in an special manner recommend to your care and inspection. First, without respect to persons, in the fear of God and for the honor of the Province, punish vice; let it not escape your righteous rod; 't is the enemy of your country and that which causes God to leave a people to divers afflictions, and brings them at last under dismal providences. I was apt myself to be but too merciful; in that follow not my example. The repentance of the person is not enough for the public always. Secondly, accommodate your differences quietly and quickly; take them up in the counties betimes; this prevents charge and animosity and public reproach. And to do this good work, every man is a judge or arbitrator, for it is a duty of good neighborhood in all. Thirdly I beseech

you to be kind to strangers, especially the poorer sort, to all be inoffensive and helpful. You are watchmen to the rest; be therefore careful, and let a public spirit act you in a public station—'t is true generation work, for which even our reward is not from men, for as government is an ordinance of God, so most assuredly the conciencious discharge of our duty therein shall not be left out of the number of those good deeds that God will recompence at the last.

"Now for myself. I bless God I am well, and last first day at night I obtained at the Cabinet an order for a speedy hearing the Lord Baltimore which yesterday by the Lords of the Plantations was appointed to be this Second night; let right and equity prevail when that is finished, my face will be turning towards you and nothing sooner expedite my return the good things I have before recommended to your care and execution. I add no more but the hearty remembrance of my love and affection to you and yours and the people of your respective counties, wishing and praying for you all that God the great author and fountain of all our mercies and blessings may be with you. Amen. Your real friend,

WM. PENN.

"Kensington, 19th, 6 mo., '85.

Besides Lord Baltimore, Penn had a determined opponent to his interests in Col. Thomas Dungan, Governor of New York. In a letter to the King dated

March 2d, 1686, he says, "Mr. Penn hath written that I was to be called home and I do not doubt but would do all he can to effect it, having no great kindness for me, because I did not consent to his having Susquehanna river."

"The pretenses of William Penn, Esqr. to the Three Lower Counties on Delaware river and to the Susquehanna river are equally, if not more injurious to your Majesty and particularly in this respect. Susquehanna river is situate in the middle of the Seneca's country, which they gave unto your Majesty's crown and hath belonged as an appendix to your Majesty's government many years before Mr. Penn had his patent. Notwithstanding thereof he endeavors to disturb your Majesty in the peaceable and quiet possession of the premises; endeavoring to tempt the Indians to sell it again to him, by that means not only to dispossess your Majesty of your ancient rights but also to pervert and draw away the trade of the Indians to his Province; which will be an irreparable loss to your Majesty, all the nations with whom Albany hath their trade living at the head of Susquehanna river. To the revenue of ten per cent, the impost upon powder, lead, alum and furs, quite lost, and if Mr. Penn should attain his pretenses to the Susquehanna river, it will not only destroy the best branch of your Majesty's revenue, but it will likewise depopulate your Province, the inhabitants of Albany having only seated themselves there and addicted their minds to the Indian

language and the misteries of the said trade, with purpose to manage it, that if it should be diverted from that channel, they must follow it, having no other way or art to get a livelihood."

In his report on the state of the Province of New York for 1686, he gives us more on the subject. "The Three Lower Counties," he says, "of Pennsylvania have been a dependency on this place, and a great many of the inhabitants persons that removed thither from this Government, and I do not believe it was his Majesty's intention to annex it to Pennsylvania nor to have it subject to the same laws, it being the King's own land, the doing whereof by Mr. Penn there has been of great detriment to this place in hindering the tobacco to come hither as formerly, for then there came two ships for one that comes now; beaver and peltry taking but small stowage in ships. I am now informed that the people of Pennsylvania have had last year from the Indians, upwards of two hundred packs of beaver down the Schuylkill and will have more this as I have reason to believe, which if not prevented, his Majesty must not expect this Government can maintain itself." We can also see here a jealousy extending back now almost two centuries in the cities of New York and Philadelphia for securing the western trade.

Unfortunately the large expenditures that Penn had been at in peopling his Province, the frequent drafts made upon him by his steward at Pennsbury, with his

expenses incurred by traveling and living abroad and at Worminghurst and Kensington began now to press heavily upon him, the income derived from his estates in England and Ireland being inadequate to meet it. In a letter to Thomas Lloyd he states that out of five hundred pounds per annum quit-rents, due him, he could not get one penny. His letters written at this time explain his stay in England, when his presence was greatly needed and desired in the colony. In a letter to James Harrison, dated at London, 23d of 7th mo., 1686, he says, "and what with the fresh packets, one after another from your side, that Baltimore complies not with the King's order; I cannot come this fall; for to leave that unfinished I came for, and so to return by his obstinacy when wife and family are there, will not be advisable. Wherefore I think to see an end of that before I go. Besides that, the country think not upon my supply, and I resolve never to act the Governor and keep another family and capacity upon my private estate. If my table, cellar, and stable may be provided for, with a barge and yacht or sloop for the service of Governor or Government, I may try to get hence, for in the sight of God, I can say, I am five thousand pounds and more behind hand, more than I ever received or saw for land in that Province; and to be so baffled by the merchants is discouraging, and not to be put up. Now I desire thee to draw no more upon me for one penny. If I cannot be supplied, I resolve to turn over a new leaf. There is nothing my soul

breathes more in this world, next my dear family's life, than that I may see poor Pennsylvania again, and my wife is given up to go, but I cannot force my way hence, and see nothing done on that side inviting. The King is kind to me and Friends, and Meetings open again."

The Prince of Orange, landed at Torbay, November 4th, 1688, and in the following February was crowned William III with his consort Mary, and the dethroned monarch James II, retired to France to die in exile. A revolution had thus been effected, and after things had got quieted down we find a renewal of Penn's correspondence. In a letter to Thomas Lloyd, president of the Council, dated London, 14th of 4th mo., 1691, he says, "I ask the people forgiveness for my long stay; but when I consider how much it has been my great loss, and for an ungrateful generation, it is punishment!—It has been £20,000 to my damage in the country, and above £10,000 here, and to the Province, 500 families; but the wise God that can do what he pleases, as well as see what is in man's heart, is able to requite all, and I am persuaded all shall yet work together for good in this very thing, if we can overlook all that stands in the way of our views, Godward; in public matters. See that all be done prudently and humbly, and keep down irreverence and looseness, and cherish industry and sobriety."

As his debts began to press him more and more,

Penn tried several methods to raise the necessary means to relieve himself from his embarrassments. Among the rest was a plan devised in the following letter. It had no direction, but the endorsement on it intimates that it was sent to Robert Turner, and by its contents evidently intended also for Thomas Holme, on both of whom he had placed considerable dependence.

"London, 4th, 12th mo., 1692.

"Dear Friends"

"Considering how things stand and may stand with you; and the visible necessity the Province is under, as well as my own interest, and my earnest inclinations, that I speedily return, I have a proposal to make, in which if you answer me, I shall be able to make my way safe from the Government easy to myself, just to my friends here, and this in reason I ought to desire. In consideration therefore of my great expenses in King Charles' time, known in some measure to Thomas Holme and my great losses in this King's time the one being at least £7,000, and the other above £4000 or £450 per annum totally wasted in Ireland as Thomas Holme* can inform you, by which means I cannot do what is requisite to bring me among you without that time here which may injure our joint interest, or help to

* He was Surveyor-General of the Province and died in 1695, aged upwards of seventy years. Served as a midshipman in Admiral Penn's expedition to the West Indies.

shorten it; I do propose that one hundred persons in town, if able, or town and country, do lend me, free of interest, each of them £100 for four years, or each of them more or less, as able, so that reach the sum and I will give you my bond to repay it to each of you, in four years time, or if not paid in that time, a sufficient interest for the whole, or what remains unpaid at four years end, from that time forwards till paid.

"I shall take it so kindly from you, that if you gave me at another time it should not equally please me, and it could not be done more seasonably for yourselves, and the whole Province, for depend upon it and you have it under my hand God giving health for it, I will not stay six months, no, not three months, if I can in that time get passage to remove to you, with family also. I hope to be more worth to you, and a great deal more to the Province; for the hour my back is turned of England some hundreds, if not thousands, will follow which will be your as well as my advantage, you may be informed of the reason of this proposal more particularly by Robert Turner and Thomas Holme if there be any need for it.

"Almighty God incline and direct you for the best, and determine quickly, for else, my course will be as you may hear by Thomas Holme otherwise in solitudes. My sincere love salutes you and my wishes, in the will of God, are for your happiness, whether I see you any more, which under God, depends much upon your compliance with my proposal, and those

that close with it shall ever be remembered by me and mine. So with my love farewell. Your assured Friend

WM. PENN."

It would appear that an effort was made by some of his friends to assist him on this plan, and which is thus sarcastically alluded to by Col. Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, in a letter to London a few months afterwards, and which he mentions that he had received the account from Philadelphia:

"By another letter to the Friends in Pennsylvania Mr. Penn writes to find out a hundred persons in the country of Pennsylvania each to lend him one hundred pounds without use for four years and without any other security than his own bond, and promises them that within six months at farthest after the receipt of it he will embark for that place with all his family. Some meetings have been about it, and it is reported that how much soever they appear his friends they stagger when he comes near their purses; those that are able want better security and those that are not (to excuse themselves) saying they would if they could."

Governor Fletcher shortly afterwards sent a letter to the Lords of Trade and Plantations wherein he reflects on the action of those in power here and their conduct towards the Proprietary. "Your Lordships," he says "will perceive these people have as little regard for the

interest of their proprietor Mr. Penn as they have for his Majesty's service, and are endeavoring to erect a new model of Government of their own invention and of their own authority. The town of Philadelphia in fourteen years time has become near equal to the city of New York in trade and riches, the hardships that this province hath undergone in the defence of the frontiers and the detaching of our people hath drove many of them thither to enjoy their ease, and there being no duty upon trade in that colony it is a discouragement to the trade of this province whose inhabitants are left wholly to bear the burthen of the war, whilst they grow by the hardships of our circumstances and derive all their protection from our forces."

To his other afflictions Penn was called now to mourn for the loss of Gulielma Maria, his beloved consort. "My dear wife," he writes, "departed this life the 23d of the 12th month, 1693, in the fiftieth year of her age; being sensible to the very last. During her illness she uttered many living and weighty expressions upon divers occasions, both before and near her end. Some of which I took down, for mine and her dear children's consolation." She was the daughter of Sir William Springett of Darlington in Sussex, who was killed in the civil wars at the seige of Bamber. He was married to her in 1672, being then in his 28th year. From the Bill of Charges by Thomas Fairman, deputy surveyor, we learn that before Penn returned to

England, he made "a journey with the Proprietor to look at some land to be called Springettsbury, above the land designated for Germantown, afterwards named Springfield." This formed what is marked on Thomas Holme's Map of original surveys "Gulielma Maria Penn's Manor of Springfield," containing 4,010 acres. We have evidence here that the Proprietary personally examined this tract before it was laid out and bestowed on his wife. It was a judicious selection, being a very fertile tract, abounding in limestone and iron, the whole forming the township of Springfield in the present Montgomery county, immediately north of Chestnut Hill. Thomas Penn in 1738 still retained 1,600 acres of it.

By the tyrannical act of an order from the Royal Council, passed the 3d of 4th month, 1692, Penn was deprived of his title to the government of Pennsylvania. In consequence he petitioned to the Lords of Trade some time after to be restored to all his former rights and privileges there. On the 1st and 3d of August, 1694, he was present at the board in which the Committee report that "Mr. Penn having declared to their Lordships that if her Majesty shall be graciously pleased to restore him to his Proprietary according to the said Grants, he intends with all convenient speed to repair thither, and take care of the Government and provide for the safety and security thereof all that in him lies. And to that end he will carefully transmit to the Council and Assembly there, all such orders as

shall be given by her Majesty in that behalf, and he doubts not but that they will at all times dutyfully comply with and yield obedience thereunto, and to all such orders and directions as their Majesties shall from time to time think fit to send, for the supplying such quota of men or the defraying their part of the charges as their Majesties shall think necessary for the safety and preservation of their Majesties Dominions in that part of America."

William and Mary accordingly restored him to all his former privileges in Pennsylvania. The act for restoring him was passed the 21st of August following, "And whereas," it states, "the said Proprietor has given us good assurance that he will take care of the Government of our said Province and Territories and provide for the safety and security thereof all that in him lies." Therefore the Queen revokes the commission of Col. Fletcher, bearing date Oct. 21, 1692, whereby he was appointed Governor and Captain General of the colony. We need not wonder at his sarcastic opponent making a vigorous defence, for he had profited by Penn's misfortune, and his restoration now cost him his position.

At a meeting of his Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, held at Whitehall, December 11th, 1696, Penn was present, on which occasion he spoke of the quotas required from the neighboring Colonies for the defence of New York. He conceived the best plan for regulating it would be by stated

deputies from each province, to meet in one common Assembly. To effect this he observed would require one Captain General or Viceroy to preside. Upon these heads the Board desired him to draw up a scheme more fully in writing, to which he consented. This remarkable document, that proposed a union of all the Colonies and to be represented in a General Congress to devise plans for their mutual welfare, safety and defence, deserves to be published in full, written as it was eighty years before the Declaration of Independence. As may be well supposed it was never acted upon, the home government dared not do it, it was policy to prevent it as long as they could. The same course is still pursued in the existing Colonies. I am not aware of it being published before in any work relating either to Penn or his Province, neither am I certain whether any reference has heretofore been made to it. It is entitled "Mr. Penn's Plan for a Union of the Colonies in America."

A Briefe and Plaine Scheam how the English Colonies in the North parts of America, viz: Boston, Connecticut, Road Island, New York, New Jerseys, Pensilvania, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina may be made more useful to the Crowne, and one another's peace and safety with an universall concurrence.

1st, That the, severall Colonies before mentioned do meet once a year, and oftener if need be, during the war, and at least once in two years in times of peace, by their stated and appointed Deputies, to debate and

resolve of such measures as are most advisable for their better understanding, and the publick tranquility and safety.

2. That in order to it two persons well qualified for sence, sobriety and substance be appointed by each Province, as their Representatives or Deputies, which in the whole make the Congress to consist of twenty persons.

3. That the King's Commissioner for that purpose specially appointed shall have the Chaire and preside in the said Congresse.

4. That they shall meet as near as conveniently may be to the most centrall Colony for ease of the Deputies.

5. Since that may in all probability, be New York both because it is near the Center of the Colonies and for that it is a Frontier and in the King's nomination, the Govr of that Colony may therefore also be the King's High Commissioner during the Session after the manner of Scotland.

6. That their business shall be to hear and adjust all matters of Complaint or difference between Province and Province. As 1st, where persons quit their own Province and goe to another, that they may avoid their just debts tho they be able to pay them; 2d, where offenders fly Justice, or Justice cannot well be had upon such offenders in the Provinces that entertain them; 3dly, to prevent or cure injuries in point of commerce; 4th, to consider of ways and means to

support the union and safety of the Provinces, against the publick enemies. In which Congresse the Quotas of men and charges will be much easier, and more equally sett, then it is possible for any establishment made here to do; for the Provinces, knowing their own condition and one anothers, can debate that matter with more freedome and satisfaction and better adjust and balance their affairs in all respects for their common safety.

7ly, That in times of war the King's High Commissioner shall be generall or Chief Commander of the severall Quotas upon service against the common enemy as he shall be advised, for the good and benefit of the whole.

In 1696 Penn married his second wife, Hannah, the daughter of Thomas Callowhill, an eminent merchant of Bristol, and soon after buried his eldest son, the virtuous and amiable Springett, aged but twenty years. In 1698, he traveled in Ireland, and resided the following year at Bristol. She survived him upwards of eight years, her death taking place the 20th of 10th month, 1726. From the time that Penn was reinstated in his government until his return to the Province was a little over five years, in which period the colony continued tranquil, and nothing material transpired to affect the general enjoyment of the people in prosperity and happiness.

CHAPTER XX.

PENN DEPARTS WITH HIS FAMILY TO THE PROVINCE. —HIS ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION AT CHESTER AND PHILADELPHIA.

[*July—December, 1699.*]

In his "Further account of Pennsylvania," dated from Worminghurst the 12th of 10th month, 1685, and published soon after for general circulation, Penn stated "because some have urged my coming back, as an argument against the place, and the probability of its improvement; adding that I would for that reason never return: I think fit to say, that next summer God willing, I intend to go back, and carry my family, and the best part of my personal estate with me. And this I do, not only of duty, but inclination and choice." In his letters after this he also gave repeated assurances of his intentions to this effect. However, according to the Report of the Lords of Trade on his petition at Whitehall, dated the 1st and 3d of August, 1694, they state that "being attended by Mr. Penn, who having declared to their Lordships that if her Majesty shall

be graciously pleased to restore him to his Propriety according to the said grants, he intends with all convenient speed to repair thither, and take care of the government and provide for the safety and security thereof all that in him lies." On this promise also voluntarily made, his province was restored to him, but as may be noticed it was not till nearly five years had elapsed on the latter before his "duty" or "choice" inclined him to return.

We have no positive assurances of an earlier intention on the part of Penn to revisit the colony, than in his application to several Friends' meetings for certificates addressed to other meetings on account of absence and removal. He is known to have received three, recorded in the first volume of the Records of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. One from the "Second Day's Meeting of Ministering Friends" in London; which alludes to his eminent services in the gospel ministry, his successful efforts in releasing the oppressed, and his meekness under trial from malice and envy, and that he parted from them in true unity and as an approved minister of Christ. One from the "Men's Meeting of Friends in the city of Bristol," where he had lately resided, and mentions their reluctance to part with him "as a man, a good Friend and a true Christian." The third we proceed to give in full:

"From our Monthly Meeting held at Horseham, Old England, 14th, 5th month, 1699.

"To the church of Christ in Pennsylvania, and to all the faithful Friends and Brethren unto whom this may come. In the covenant of life and fellowship of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the unity of the one eternal Spirit of our God, we dearly salute you, most earnestly desiring your prosperity in the blessed truth.

"Now dear Friends and Brethren, whereas our worthy Friend and Elder, William Penn, did acquaint our Friends' Monthly Meeting with his intended voyage into his province of Pennsylvania, and although we are right sensible that he needeth no recommendation from us, to pass into his own country, yet at his request, and for the good order sake that God has established in his church and among his people, and for the sincere love we bear our well esteemed Friend, we could do no less than give this small token of our unity and communion with him, for a testimony for him in his service in the church of Christ; wherein he hath been a worthy and blessed instrument in the hand of the Lord, both in his ministry and conversation; and has always sought the prosperity of the blessed truth, peace and concord, in the church of Christ; and hath walked among us in all humility, godly sincerity and brotherly love, to our great refreshment and comfort; who hath with much labour and travail on all occasions, endeavoured the defence of truth against its opposers, and the preservation of true unity and good order in the church of Christ.

So in the unity of the one eternal Spirit, which is the bond of true peace, we take our leave of him, with earnest breathings and supplications to the great God, whom the wind and seas obey, that he would mercifully be pleased to go along with him, and conduct him by the angel of his Divine Presence to his desired port, and preserve him to the end of his days. And that in the end he may receive an immortal crown and be bound up in the bundle of life amongst them that have turned many to righteousness, who shine as the sun in the firmament of God's eternal power, forever and ever. Amen."

Signed in the behalf and by the appointment of the said meeting, by Richard Hallare, Resta Patdoing, Daniel Hayllare, Thomas Rowland, Walter Constable, John Greenwood, Hugh Parson, John Shaw, Isaac Parson, Samuel Cully, John Shaw, Sen'r, John Garton, Thomas Snashwold, Peter Johan, Abraham Jones, Benjamin Hayllare, Richard Gates, Thomas Lellington, Thomas Humphreys, Benjamin Martin, John Shaw, Jun'r.

On the 13th of 6th month following he preached a farewell sermon at Friends' Meeting house in Westminster, which was taken down on the occasion and shortly after printed, a copy, if we mistake not, being in possession of the Historical Society. Just before leaving he prepared a letter of advice to his children, chiefly relating to their civil and religious conduct.

After the necessary preparations had all been made, Penn now determined to carry out his long-cherished

purpose, and accordingly embarked with his wife and daughter Letitia, on board the ship Canterbury lying at Cowes in the Isle of Wight, from which they sailed on the 3d of 7th month (Sept., 1699.) Before leaving he took farewell of his Friends, in a valedictory addressed to all the people called Quakers, in Europe. He concludes by saying, "I have from the first endeavoured to serve you, and my poor country, and that at my own charges, with an upright mind, however misunderstood and treated by some, whom I heartily forgive. Accept you my services; and ever love and remember, my dear friends and brethren, your old, true, and affectionate friend, brother, and servant in Christ Jesus."

By his first marriage, Penn had five children; Mary and Hannah died in infancy, and Springett, the pride of his father, in 1696. William, whom he left behind, was married to Mary the daughter of Charles Jones, of Bristol. Letitia, who now accompanied him, must have been a full grown woman, for we know that she was married three years after to William Aubrey. This constituted at the time the whole of the Proprietary's family. In his first visit to the province Penn was in his thirty-eighth year, now he was fifty-five and had been fifteen years and over three months absent. A period long enough to have made a considerable change, particularly in a young and flourishing colony. Many that had been on the active stage of life when he left were now numbered amongst their fathers,

whilst their sons and daughters had grown up and were taking their places.

As Proud has stated in his History (vol. I, pp. 420–1), that Penn had sailed from the Isle of Wight on the 9th of 7th month, in which I find that he has since been followed by others, it becomes us here to give our authority on the subject. This is derived from no less than three letters written by Penn himself (4.) One to Governor Nicholson of Virginia, dated Philadelphia, 12th, 10 br. following, in which he says, "I came to this town ye 3d, that day 3 months that I left ye Isle of Wight, a long and sometimes rude passage, but mercifull in all our healths and in finding ye mortality over before we came." To Governor Blackiston of Maryland on the 13th, writes that "We set sail from ye Isle of Wight ye 3d of 7 br., and arrived here ye 3d of 10 br., which proved a merciful delay, the late mortality considered." He also confirms the aforesaid in a letter from Philadelphia the 10th of 1 mo., 1700, to Secretary Vernon.

On the 28th of November the ship Canterbury had already entered the bay, and had passed New Castle, when Penn entered his barge and the following afternoon landed at the house of Lydia Wade, below Chester, where he lodged that evening. The voyage had been a very tedious one, taking three months till the ship arrived at Philadelphia. Among the passengers was James Logan, whom Penn had proposed to accompany him to Pennsylvania as his secretary, which

offer he had accepted. J. Francis Fisher in his Private Life of Penn (Memoirs of Hist. Society, vol. III, p. 89), relates that on his arrival Penn distributed amongst the ship's company near six pounds, quite a handsome sum for those days, in appreciation of their services and kindness to him. On this occasion he also brought with him the magnificent colt Tamerlane by the celebrated Godolphin Barb, to which some of the best horses of England traced their pedigree. But for travel he still preferred his yacht, a fine vessel of six oars, with a regular crew who received fair wages while the Governor was in the country. As the son of an Admiral he had an hereditary fondness for water, perhaps cherished the more by the gold medal that had been transmitted to him.

The arrival of Penn at Chester is quite interestingly noticed in the Journal of Thomas Story (Friends' Library, vol. X, pp. 131–4, Phila. 1846), from which we take the following extracts:

"On the 28th (9th mo., 1699) I had a small meeting at New Castle upon Delaware, which would have been less, had it not been for the expectation several were in of seeing William Penn, proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, then in the river, in his voyage from England, in order to exercise his government in person, having been absent many years: but he did not land there. Being informed that the governor was under sail, and desired me to meet him that evening

near Chester, I took horse after supper, and went
our friend Lydia Wade's by Chester, and there waited
till he came up in his barge; and as we had parted in
England in much tenderness, my satisfaction was also
great to meet him so well and safe in his own prov-
ince; and that night we lodged together, and dis-
coursed on divers subjects especially on matters of
government.

"The next day, being the 1st of the 10th month,
we went over Chester creek in a boat, to the town;
and as the governor landed, some young men,
officiously, and contrary to the express command
some of the magistrates, fired two small sea-pieces
cannon, and being ambitious to make three out of two
by firing one twice, one of the young men dashing
cartridge of powder before the piece was spunged,
his left hand and arm shot in pieces. A surgeon
being sent for from on board a ship, an amputation
was quickly resolved upon by Dr. Griffith and
Friend, the surgeon, and some other skilful persons
present; which accordingly was done without delay.
But as the arm was cut off, some spirits in a basin
happened to take fire, and being spilt upon the sur-
geon's apron, set his clothes on fire, and there being a
great crowd of spectators, some of them were in dan-
ger of being scalded, as the surgeon himself was upon
his hands and face; but running into the street, the
fire was quenched; and so quick was he, that the
patient lost not very much blood.

"Such is the unreasonableness of envy, and of those that are exercised therein, that some such would gladly have blamed the governor, because the matter happened on that occasion, though he could not be in any way accessory thereto, the action being without his knowledge, and contrary to the command of the magistrates. But as he was above the reach of his enemies, their envy and calumnies could not hurt him."

The unfortunate accident just mentioned must have greatly marred the pleasure of the Governor's reception. He was so much concerned for the sufferer, that he paid the expenses of surgical aid, and continued to advance money for his relief and support, as appears from the several entries in the Proprietary's Cash Book of the several sums paid under the heading "for B. Bevan of Chester, who lost his arm." The last entry which was nearly five months after the occurrence showed the sad termination of this affair, and is "April 20th, for his funeral charges."

After visiting some of his former acquaintances and exchanging salutations with its principal inhabitants, the Governor went on board the Canterbury, and the ship proceeded on her way to Philadelphia where he arrived on the afternoon of Sunday the 3d of December. The city had been visited by that dreadful epidemic the yellow fever, and was just recovering from the distress and devastation caused by its ravages, which had not long before prevailed to an alarming

[illegible]

[illegible] in a [illegible] was plunged, had [illegible]. A surgeon [illegible] an amputation [illegible] Owen, a [illegible] skilful persons [illegible] without delay. [illegible] spirits in a bason happened to take fire, and being spilt upon the surgeon's apron set his clothes on fire, and there being a great crowd of spectators, some of them were in danger of being scalded, as the surgeon himself was upon his hands and face: but running into the street, the fire was quenched; and so quick was he, that the patient lost not very much blood.

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extent. Respecting it a letter had been sent from here to Penn dated the 11th of 7th month, when he had proceeded eight days on his voyage which stated "All business and trade down. This is quite the Barbadoes distemper, they void and vomit blood. This has been about harvest time, the hottest summer I ever knew: several died in the field with the violence of the heat."

The Governor in a letter from Philadelphia dated the 10th of 1st mo. (March), 1700, to Secretary Vernon says, "My passage was long, three months but merciful, in that the northwesters had purged this town from a distemper that raged two or three months therein, brought as believed from Barbadoes, of which 215 died." To Col. Codrington he wrote five days later, "We have had a sickly place, but now well, through God's mercy mine are all so, and our passage though long and sometimes rough, yet safe, not a passenger miscarried."

James Logan in a letter to William Penn, Jr., thus describes the arrival in Philadelphia: "The highest terms I could use would hardly give you an idea of the expectation and welcome that thy father received from the most of the honester party here. Friends generally concluded that after all their troubles and disappointments, this province now scarce wanted anything more to render it completely happy. The faction that had long contended to overthrow the settled constitution of the government received an universal

damp, yet endeavoured what mischief they could by speaking whispers that the Proprietary could not act as governor without the King's approbation, and taking an oath, as obliged by Act of Parliament; but that in a great measure soon blew over.

"Directly from the wharf the governor went to his deputy's (Markham) paid him a short formal visit, and from thence with a crowd attending to meeting, it being about three o'clock on First-day afternoon, where he spoke on a double account to the people, and praying, concluded it: from thence to Edward Shippen's where we lodged for about a month.

"David Lloyd, attorney-general, a man very stiff in all his undertakings, of a sound judgment, and a good lawyer, but extremely pertinaceous and somewhat revengeful: he, at that time, was one of the council. This obstinacy the governor could by no means brook; he could not but think there was more deference and consideration due his character and station. Friends love to the governor was great and sincere they had long mourned for his absence, and passionately desired his return. He, they firmly believed, would compose all their differences, and repair all that was amiss."

Among the determined opponents of Penn was Col. Robert Quarry, Judge of the Admiralty, a court established by the British government, for the adjudication of maritime cases, and also for the purpose of enforcing the navigation laws, which prohibited a direct trade from the American colonies to foreign countries. John

Moore was Advocate in this court, and were rendered completely independent in their positions from both the Proprietary and the Legislature. These with David Lloyd were now the chief leaders in every movement that was set in opposition to the Proprietary interests. The latter came from Wales and had been a captain in Cromwell's army, but now a member of the Society of Friends. Quarry and Moore had been sending injurious statements to the Board of Trade in London charging the authorities here with harboring pirates, tolerating illicit trade, not exacting oaths in courts, nor providing military defences. Penn however had succeeded in baffling their designs, and was desirous of promoting harmony and sent for Quarry, when they had a talk over the matters at variance in a courteous manner, both acknowledging to some faults in the administration of affairs during his absence.

"Last First-day," as Isaac Norris wrote a few days after, "our Proprietor arrived with his wife and family, all well. He is hearty and hale, received with much joy by the major and better part of the inhabitants. The same day arrived Captain Cooper with 120 passengers, from Bristol, all well. We have had this year seven ships from England, some of them 300 tons. We never had such a quantity of goods in one year since I knew the country. Our place through great mercy very healthy again, and an extraordinary moderate and open fall."

Thomas Story in his Journal says that on the 8th

he went to Philadelphia and visited the Governor and some of his friends there. On the 13th he accompanied Penn to Chester to attend the Court of Quarter Sessions, and the next day they held there a meeting for worship, at which a number attended. On the 15th they returned together to Philadelphia, where he remained till the 28th.

The 12th must have been a tolerable busy day with the Proprietary, for among his other labors he wrote at least three tolerably lengthy letters (4.) One was addressed to Governor Nicholson of Virginia, in which he says, "I desire with all sincerity a good understanding among ye Governors of ye Provinces under ye Crown of England for their regulation at home and ye prosperity of ye respective Provinces, and do assure thee that it shall be my endeavour to discharge my part as becomes both my duty and interest, suppressing illegal trade and the roving of pirates about the several colonies seems the immediate concern. I have begun and shall continue to make it my care and on all occasions desire thy advice and assistance in ye discharge of that branch of my duty to ye Crown."

"By your Collector I am informed," he writes to Major Donaldson and Captain Hallowell, "of a late trial in New Castle Court against some persons since deceased and others who fled from Burlington before my arrival under suspicion of piracy that carries some censure upon ye Justice of that place. I desire you would cause ye Clerk of your Court to draw out of

his minutes as fair an account as he possibly can and let it with all expedition be transmitted to me that I may be the more fully acquainted of all past proceedings about it."

To William Clark, of Lewis, Sussex county, he writes, "I am extremely glad to hear that after the danger your kindness exposed you to in the sloop you got all so well ashore. The thoughts of it were a great concern to me till eased by the news of your safety. I have not yet fully determined the time of the Council and Assembly to meet, but by the first opportunity thou mayest expect to hear farther. Pray be careful to suffer no unknown persons to wander about without apprehension and information sent hither." This letter it appears was transmitted by Samuel Rowland, and the mention of the danger that Clark had exposed himself to in the sloop no doubt has reference to his boarding the Canterbury in a storm when she had got inside the Capes, to which the Proprietary was witness.

On the 13th he wrote from Philadelphia, most probably in the morning before he started for Chester, to Governor N. Blackiston of Maryland, in which he says, "I hope my carriage will convince my neighbors that we intend to be dutiful to the Crown, careful of its revenues and the good of Mother country, and very friendly to our neighbor colonies. Here is one Bradenham a physician, who pretends to have left him twenty months since, and pleads rather merit than

guilt. I have clapt him up close prisoner, and entreat to know, if the penitent or ingenious pirate in thy hands can touch him. I am doing my utmost to show my aversions to those villains and their outrages, and my next may give a more ample account."

This matter of the pirates was of serious concern to Penn, about which great complaints had been made to the home government, that his officials here either were unable or unwilling to arrest or suppress them, and that they were harbored by the colonists. A letter had been sent to the Proprietary from Philadelphia the 11th of 7th month last, which stated that "We have four men in prison, taken up as pirates, supposed to be Kidd's men. Shelly of York, has brought to these parts some scores of them; and there is sharp looking out to take them. We have various reports of their riches, and money hid between this and the Capes. There was landed about twenty men, as we understand, at each Cape, and several gone to York. A sloop has been seen cruising off the Capes for a considerable time, but not meddled with any vessel as yet, though she has spoke with several." The result was that on the 23d of this month (Dec., 1699), Penn came out in a printed proclamation for the apprehension of all pirates, and those in any way concerned or suspected of piracy. A copy of which has been preserved in the State Paper Office in London.

CHAPTER XXI.

TROUBLES RESPECTING PIRATES.—THE GOVERNOR HAS A SON BORN, ON WHOM HE BESTOWS THE MANOR OF PERKASIE.

[*January and February, 1699.*]

A MEETING of the Council was held by the Governor in Philadelphia on the 1st of 11th month, 1699. On which occasion he proposed to them the necessity of calling a general Assembly, to take further measures for preventing and suppressing piracy and illegal trade. After some debate he desired them to consider it and be ready at the next meeting to give him the best advice thereon. They accordingly met on the 3d, 4th, 5th, 8th, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 29th, and 31st days of said month, at all of which meetings the Proprietary presided.

Writs were issued by the Governor on the 9th for the election of Members of Assembly, amongst those was one directed to R. Hallowell, J. Donaldson and Robert French, of New Castle, to see to the proper returns of the several members for the Three Lower counties. On the 13th he sent a letter by post to Governor

Blackiston, of Maryland, in relation to some official business.

Thomas Story in his Journal mentions, that "On the 13th the Governor set forward for Burlington, in West New Jersey, and I went with him, where we were favoured with a satisfactory meeting. On the 15th we rested at Burlington, at our friend Samuel Jenning's, and on the 16th, being the marriage day of two of his daughters, we had a large and good meeting, and on the 18th we went down to the ferry, in order for Philadelphia; but the river proving impassable, by reason of the ice and floods by the mighty rains upon a great snow, we returned to Burlington, and the day after went down again, and the frost being set in extremely hard the second time, we cut a way through the ice, and with much labour and difficulty got over, and went sixteen miles to Philadelphia."

In my researches in the Records of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting found a confirmation of one of these marriages, which took place, as stated, on the 16th of 11th month, 1699. It was that of Edward Penington, of Philadelphia, to "Sarah Jennins, daughter of Samuel and Ann Jennins of Burlingtowne, West New Jersey," which took place in the Meeting house there. Amongst the witnesses present who signed the certificate, are found the names of William Penn, Letitia Penn, Thomas and Ann Stevenson, Isaac Merriot, John and Agnes Holenshed, Joseph Growdon and some eighty-nine others; we may

therefore conclude with the Journalist that they "had a large and good meeting." The aforesaid Edward Penington was the Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania, and on his death, January 10th, 1701-2, Jacob Taylor became his successor in the office.

The pirates at this time continued to cause a great deal of excitement throughout all the English-American colonies, but the matter was greatly exaggerated, their numbers were but few, and their captures in reality did not amount to much. E. Randolph in a letter to the Lords of Trade, dated New York, April 26th, 1698 (Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. IV, pp. 300–1), thus exhibits his prejudices on the matter, being strongly opposed to Penn's government:

"With much difficulty I got over Chesapeake Bay and travelled to Pennsylvania, calling at New Castle upon Delaware Bay, 't is inhabited with Scotch and Dutch chiefly and a few French and one or two Englishmen, they are under an arbitrary Quaker Government where neither Judges, Juries nor Witnesses are sworn even in trials of criminals, as about four years ago, when I was there one Richardson was tried, condemned and executed upon a supposed murder, so that his Majesty's subjects inhabiting in these parts and Pennsylvania also, are in no ways secure in their estates, lives and liberties, nor can it be expected that the officers of his Majesty's Customs can have justice done, where there are no persons qualified by an oath to try their causes upon seizures or otherwise.

"I came to Philadelphia, and administered the oath to Mr. Markham the governor the 17th of March past, but he has not his Majesty's order in Council allowing him to be Governor of that Province. Colonel Nicholson hearing of some of Every's men were in Philadelphia forthwith sent the Lords Justices Proclamation for apprehending them to Mr. Markham, who instead of securing supported and encouraged them; two of the chief Clinton and Lassell were carried to Carolina from Philadelphia, by one Medlicott another of Every's men and surgeon of his ship; another of them one Clause a cooper lives now in Philadelphia; I have seen him almost every day in the streets and James Brown one also of that company is married to Mr. Markham's daughter."

In consequence of such information we find that the Lords of Trade presented to the Lords Justices at Whitehall, August 10th, 1699, a report in which they conclude by saying, "We humbly propose that directions may be given to Mr. Penn to take care in that matter (meaning the pirates) upon his arrival there, according to the power conferred upon him by his patent." This, it will be observed, was about three weeks before his departure for America.

To Penn this must have been a painful affair, both from his relationship and position. This can be seen in the following letter written on the 27th of this (11th) month:

"Cousin Markham. When I was with thee to-day

thou offered to be bound for thy son-in-law should he bring thee into it is all the portion I believe he has with thy daughter. What thou hast, I may venture to say thou hast got by this government. I think it very strange therefore that thou makest a difficulty in binding thy Executor with thyself for his appearance. Should another be bound, no man will take thy bond for thy own life, only for a counter security. Thou knowest it is contrary to the form of all obligations and I cannot but take it hard thou shouldst be unwilling to venture so much for thy own credit as well as that of the government and for the husband of thy only child from those I am not concerned with. I expect a more express answer than thou hast yet given and remain thy affectionate kinsman.

W. P."

James Brown, here mentioned as the son-in-law of William Markham, was elected a Member of the Assembly from Kent county, which body met in Philadelphia the 3d of 10th mo., 1699, but he did not attend. His father-in-law went security for his appearance in the sum of £300, and was brought before the Assembly the 2d of 12th month following and, I believe, he was expelled. As there was no direct proof, and being only suspected of the charge, was some time afterwards released. His wife, as stated, was the only child. As respects Markham he had been commissioned by Penn deputy Governor of the Province the 24th of 9th

month, 1694, and continued in the office till the Proprietary's return on the 3d of 10th month, 1699.

On the 30th the Governor sent a letter to John Parmiter, whom he calls his "Cosin." We must confess at present that we are not able to furnish any other particulars concerning him. It would appear as if he had been on a visit here about the time of his arrival, and that he was now residing at New York. We select only a few of the most interesting extracts:

"Cosin Parmiter, I am glad the rigour of the season had no greater influence on thy journey home. But my engagements at that time in public affairs and settling my family will plead the excuse, which I hope thy next visit shall not need. I am obliged for thy quick care about the wine; I doubt not but thine and Dr. Rodman's skill, with Col. Depeister's good humour, will supply me with what is good; and if so, another hogshead would not be unwelcome. This place is so very dry of wine at present that a small sloop load from thence would I believe, meet with a very ready market and encouraging price."

Besides the above we find two more letters written on this day. One to Lieut. Governor John Nanfan of New York, in which he says, "I am sorry the rigour of the season has had such influence upon the Earl of Bellomont, the climate though healthy is too churlish to the gout, but for that reason the spring will be his, towards an easier condition. I beg my most respectful salutes to him and his worthy Lady. He

honoured me with a letter the other day, which, if not by this I intend to acknowledge by next post."

Though hinted at, he did send however by the same "post" a letter to Lord Bellomont from Philadelphia, in which he communicates the news of the birth of a son. "I heartily condole," he says, "thy hard treatment from the gout, a distemper easily provoked by this churlish climate, or season of the year, but I hope the approach of Spring will moderate its rigour, and engage thee to look toward these parts. I thank Almighty God we are all well, my wife is safely laid of a boy and both well for their time. She was brought to bed the 28th instant."

The son alluded to was John Penn, distinguished as "the American," who was born in what was called the Slate Roof House, situated at the corner of Second street and Norris alley, now changed to Gothic street. It was built by Samuel Carpenter and was then considered one of the best built dwellings in the town. According to James Logan's letter, the Proprietary must have removed with his family from Edward Shippen's mansion into it about the beginning of the present month. It was rented by Penn for two years, but continued to be afterwards used by his Secretary Logan as an office for the transaction of Proprietary affairs and public business. It was purchased in 1703 by Wm. Trent for £850, and subsequently owned by Isaac Norris.

We have now arrived at February, the last month of

the year 1699, and find from the minutes that meetings of the Council were held in Philadelphia on the 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 14th, 15th and 16th, at all of which the Governor was present. On the 10th he stated to the Council and Assembly that he intended to call the next Assembly according to Charter at the usual and annual time. To which the Members of Assembly through their Speaker declared was to their satisfaction. The Governor then asked them whether they had any other business that needed his attention at this time, to which they gave a negative answer. He then said, "Gentlemen you are disolved, and I hereby dissolve you." Whereupon they thanked him and departed and so ended the session.

"Soon after his arrival," says Proud in his History (vol. I, p. 423), "he met the Assembly; but it being then a very rigorous season, in the winter, much public business does not appear to have been transacted, at that time, besides attempting to discourage piracy and illicit trade; for which principally, the Proprietary seems to have convened them. He strongly represented the odium, to which he was under, to his superiors, to correct the same. Hence, two laws were passed, for these purposes, and measures taken to clear the government from all unjust imputations of this nature."

On the 2d, two letters were written by Penn, one

was addressed to Sir Thomas Beeston of Jamaica and the other to the Governor of Barbadoes. In the latter he says, "I landed the 3d of December, our place is healthy now, and our General Assembly sitting upon only two laws, one against piracy and the other against illicit trade." It may be inferred from this that there was no occasion at present for any other legislation.

A warrant was issued on the 17th to Thomas Fairman the deputy surveyor to proceed and lay out 10,000 acres of land to be called the "Manor of Perkesey," for the use of his infant son now but three weeks old. He also directed him to lay out 40,000 acres additional for the use of his other children. His charge for the first survey was £37.10 and for the other £130. The manor of Perkasie was situated in Rockhill township, Bucks county. Thomas Penn in 1759 donated 2,500 acres of this tract, "being one-fourth part" to the use of the University of Pennsylvania, who still hold the same. According to Oldmixon the name is derived from Perkiomen, a branch of which stream flows through the manor.

The Governor summons Robert Asheton, "high sheriff of Philadelphia," on the 19th of 12th month, 1699, to hold an election on the 11th of the following month (March) for three persons to serve in the Provincial Council and to the General Assembly for said county. As respects this sheriff we have an interest from the fact that Penn executed a deed, the 30th of May, 1687, in which he says, "I did give unto my

cousins Robert, Francis, Mary, Rachel and John Asheton, the latter having since died, of the county of Lancaster, England, 3000 acres of land," whereof Robert Asheton's share containing 314 acres was laid out to him in Whitemarsh township, Philadelphia county, the 20th of 4th month 1702; for which he is to pay "one silver shilling for every one hundred acres on the first day of the first month of every year." He was appointed by Penn under the charter granted to the city, October 25th, 1701, Clerk of the Courts and Prothonotary. In 1708 he was appointed in addition Recorder of the City, which several offices he held till his death in August, 1727. As mentioned in Penn's letter (Chapter XXV) he was an Episcopalian and was buried with considerable display by torchlight at Christ Church. According to one of his statements he must have arrived here in 1699, very probably with the Proprietary. When the latter made his will at New Castle the 30th of 8th month, 1701, we find him present as one of the witnesses. I have since ascertained from the Records of Christ Church that his parents were Ralph and Susanna Asheton.

"On the 19th," says Thomas Story in his Journal, "I went to Burlington where I met William Penn, to our mutual satisfaction. That evening (the 26th) I returned to Burlington, where was a youths' meeting next day, which was large and comfortable; and William Penn being likewise there, we tarried till the 29th, and then went to a quarterly meeting at Neshaminy,

in Pennsylvania, which, though not large, was well; and that evening we went to Philadelphia, where I remained till the 5th of the first month," 1700. An examination of the minutes of the Bucks County Quarterly Meeting of that date confirms the fact of such a meeting having been held and of which Phineas Pemberton was clerk; but no mention whatever is made of the presence of either of those distinguished visitors, though it appears considerable business was transacted.

Penn deemed it his duty to write a long letter on the 28th to the Commissioners of Customs respecting the pirates, and to justify the proceedings of his government in the course pursued against them, and what he further expected from the late enactments of the legislature.

Some time this year a mill was built about one and a half miles northwest of Chester on the left bank of the creek, beside the ford and road leading to Philadelphia. The original partners were William Penn, Samuel Carpenter and Caleb Pusey who conducted the business. An iron vane was placed thereon pierced to bear the following inscription, S. C. W. P. C. P. 1699. The mill has been demolished for some time when the vane came in possession of Reese W. Flower who presented it to the Historical Society, June 13th, 1864. In 1872 the Society had it richly gilt and placed on the roof of their new hall on Spruce

street, where it was engaged in doing its 181st year of duty, but since removed to their present location, 1300 Locust street.

CHAPTER XXII.

PENN'S PROPOSALS FOR THE MORAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE NEGROES AND INDIANS.—MEANNESS IN ALLOWING HIM NO COMPENSATION.—HIS ABILITIES AS A WRITER.

[*March—June, 1700.*]

AT a meeting of the Council, held in Philadelphia on the 6th of 1st month (March), 1700, the Governor read the letter he had received from Secretary Vernon about sending home the pirates, and also the remarks of the Earl of Bellomont on the same. After some debate about the time and mode of transporting Dr. Brandingham and David Evans, the prisoners here, it was the opinion of the board that the Governor write again to the Earl of Bellomont on the matter and likewise to his deputy Nanfan, whether they will send for them and their treasure with a guard, or whether they must be sent from here to New York. Whereupon Council adjourned to meet again on the 30th of the present month.

Penn addressed a letter on the 6th to Lieut.-Governor Nanfan in which he says, "I wait an answer

to my last from the Earl of Bellomont, before I proceed any further about the Pirates, and should take it for a favour to know the exact time of your frigate being ready to take in these unhappy people. I am glad the fair weather continues, hoping it will favour New York with the Lord Bellomont's presence and that at least our commerce may be easier, which I assure will be very grateful to him that with hearty salutes and good wishes is thy assured and affectionate friend." On the following day he sent another letter to the same, communicating the results of the Council's deliberations.

He addressed a long letter to Secretary Vernon on the 10th about the pirates. In regard to Philadelphia he says "we are now healthy and the river open and the spring looking favourably upon us. Here is a mighty improvement both in town and country, and if not discouraged may prove a specimen of industry not inferior to any of this or former ages."

The Governor had a re-survey made of his manor of Pennsbury, from which David Powell prepared a draft completed and signed on the 13th, depositing also a copy in the Surveyor-General's office. According to the same the manor now contained 6,543 acres, about 1,888 acres having been either sold off or granted to servants attached to the place since the close of 1682.

In a letter to Col. Codrington on the 15th the Governor says, "The King has sent for the Pirates by the

Advice frigate and their treasure whether it be money or goods upon oath, which is hard that the Provinces must be at the charge and that what should pay them must go all to England."

Through the encouragement of the home government a considerable number of negroes had been brought into the Province from Africa, and disposed of as slaves. Their condition and improvement arrested the attention of Penn, and accordingly in this month and year he introduced the subject before the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting who, in their minutes, gave it the following notice:

"Our dear Friend and Governor having laid before this meeting a concern that hath lain upon his mind for some time, concerning the Negroes and Indians, that Friends ought to be very careful in discharging a good conscience towards them in all respects, but more especially for the good of their souls, and that they might, as frequent as may be, come to meetings on First days, upon consideration whereof this meeting concludes to appoint a meeting for the Negroes, to be kept once a month, &c., and that their masters give notice thereof in their own families, and be present with them at the said meetings as frequent as may be."

His proposals having been agreed upon, he now endeavored to proceed still further in the good work, and prepared a bill "for regulating negroes in their morals and marriages," and another "for the regulation of their trials and punishments." Though they met the appro-

bation of the Council, the first was rejected by the Assembly to the regret of the worthy Governor. As regards his application to the Monthly Meeting, Robert Proud remarks (vol. I, p. 423), "Hence a meeting was appointed more particularly for the Negroes once every month; and means were used to have more frequent meetings with the Indians; William Penn taking part of the charge upon himself, particularly the manner of it, and the procuring of interpreters.

Though in these opinions he was decidedly in advance of the age, we do not find anywhere in his writings anything in relation to the wrongfulness of slavery. This we could not well expect from one while he held and owned slaves, but by his will made the 30th of 7th month of the following year he mentions therein of giving to "my blacks their freedom as is under my hand already." Thus clearly demonstrating that his sentiments were not favorable to retaining people in bondage; we might further add to his still higher credit, that no evidence exists that he ever sold or disposed of them.

The Council met in Philadelphia April 1st, 1700, on which occasion the Proprietary and Governor made to them an able and interesting address from which we extract the following:

"Friends, if in the Constitution by Charter there be any thing that jars, alter it; if you want a law for this or that prepare it. I advise you not to trifle with government. I wish there was no need of any, but

since crimes prevail government is made necessary by man's degeneration. It is not an end but a means; he that thinks it an end aims at profit to make a trade of it. He who thinks it to be a means understands the true end of government. Friends, away with all parties, and look on yourselves and what is good for all, as a body politic, first as under the King and crown of England and next as under me, by letters patent from that crown. At the late election at Philadelphia, I was grieved to hear some make it a matter of religion; no its humane and moral relating to trade, traffic and public good consisting in virtue and justice; where these are maintained there is government indeed. Study peace, and be at unity for the good of all, and I desire to see mine no otherwise than in the public's prosperity.

"The last Assembly made two laws, the one against piracy, the other against forbidden trade. I hear they have not sat easy on the backs of some, but I hope, we have therein been careful of England, we shall have thanks for making them before we had orders so to do, and after so many calumnies and complaints we have been charged with. I hope these two laws will in some degree wash us clean; what concerns myself I also leave with you to consider. I have now been nineteen years your Proprietor and Governor, and I have at my charge maintained my deputy, whereby I have much worsted my estate, and hope it will be no wonder to any to hear me make this mention of it.

Some say I come to get money and begone, perhaps they that say so, wish it so. I hope I or mine shall be with you, while I or they live. The disasters of my absence have been mine as well as yours, and as I am used shall make suitable returns. I have lately two packets from Whitehall; also one to my cousin Markham, and two from Secretary Vernon and am commended by the Lords Justices to make laws against piracy and illegal trade. I am glad we have prevented their commands in doing it before they came."

Meetings of the Council were also held in this month on the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 15th, but nothing of particular interest transpired.

The affair concerning the pirates still occupied considerable of the Governor's attention, and in a letter dated on the 18th to Lord Bellomont says, "The prisoners and money taken in this Province namely Bradingham, Eldridge and Evans I hope are safely arrived at New York or shipped at least on board the Newport galley. There were two more, one Arnold and Stanton, the last ran away long before my arrival and the first of them by Col. Quarry's orders sent with Eldridge to Burlington, he being Judge of the Admiralty on that side also, and was by Col. Bass admitted to bail and is somewhere in Rhode Island or Connecticut, or was lately."

"There came lately to my notice," remarks Penn in a letter of the 22d to the Lords of Trade and Planta-

tions, "this information that when Captain Kidd was off our Capes, there went on board one George Thompson, Peter Lewis, Henry Stretcher, William Orr and Diggory Tenny, from the town of Lewis in Sussex. The three first stayed on board twenty-four hours, the two last but an hour, both companies brought goods on shore I hear to the value of £300 which they concealed and sold, as they could dispose of. Some are yet in their custody. Thompson, Lewis and Orr, were on suspicion of being old pirates, whose comrades have long sown themselves in Boston, Rhode Island, New York, Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina, where their Captain, one Reiner now dwells and Col. Quarry tells me he bought their ship, they were eighty-four in company. Five of them are in this government, but thirty of them followed husbandry turning planters, the others have traded."

We now find from Penn's letter of the 23d addressed to Lieut. Governor Nanfan, that Markham's son-in-law had now also been sent on for trial. Respecting the circumstance, he mentions that "another person one James Brown was brought to town by warrant, who not only lies under the suspicion of piracy, but if innocent of that, had the unhappiness however of coming home in company with Every's men. I now send him to New York, and desire he may, with the rest in Newport, be carried to Boston, where the whole circumstances of his voyage are best known, and where

the Earl of Bellomont's prudence will best understand what is fit to be done with him, if the evidence he says he can produce there of his innocency be not sufficient to clear him, as he pretends it has once done already, before Lieut. Governor Stoughton."

During May or 3d month, we can find but very little relating to Penn. From the minutes of Council we know that he was present at their meetings in Philadelphia on the 10th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 24th, 25th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st.

On the last mentioned date he laid before the Council and Assembly "a bill of supply to him as Governor, who never yet these twenty years past had had a farthing from them." We are inclined to believe that this statement thus publicly made must certainly be true, and to those who should best know. In his address to the Council the previous month he says, "I have now been nineteen years your Proprietor and Governor, and I have at my charge maintained my deputy, whereby I have much worsted my estate." Respecting this matter Isaac Norris thus alludes in a letter to Philip Ford, written on the 13th of the following (4th) month: "Our Assembly, after a monthly sitting and hot debate, broke up, and did little more than deliver up and vote out the Charter. A bill was prepared to give our Governor three pounds tax, but opposed and voted out—I think very unhandsomely. They have given him, indeed, an impost upon liquors, which some of them magnify to £1000 per annum,

because they would seem to come off with flying colors; but I do not think it worth one half the money. Experience will show."

This meanness on the part of the Assembly, as well as the people here recalls the remarks of Governor Fletcher on this very subject in 1693. "It is reported that how much soever they appear his friends they stagger when he comes near their purses." Again to the Board of Trade he says, "Your Lordships will perceive that these people have as little regard for the interest of their Proprietor Mr. Penn as they have for his Majesty's service." In his Address to Friends before his late departure he said, "I have from the first endeavored to serve you, and that at my own charges, with an upright mind, however misunderstood and treated by some whom I heartily forgive." The Spaniards have been accused with ingratitude to Columbus, but he was a foreigner, and it had happened two centuries before. Penn in comparison lived in a modern age and the ingratitude manifested towards him was altogether by his countrymen and friends, of whom he had a right to expect more. It would thus appear that cool, designing, selfish beings were not unfrequent even in those days, from whom it was his lot unfortunately to realize bitter lessons of experience both here and in England.

Meetings with the Council were held by Penn on June 1st, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 25th and 26th, when they adjourned to the 1st of the following month. On

the 25th, the Governor sent the messenger to have the Council to attend him at his house. Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, John Moll, William Clark, Caleb Pusey and Robert Turner appeared, Griffith Owen and Joseph Growdon being absent. He stated to them that since the Charter was delivered up again to him, it was not proper that he should be without a Council and that therefore he had made choice of them, and desired the Secretary to read the qualification prepared for them to sign, which was accordingly subscribed and they took their places at the board. On the following day it was agreed that the Council meet every 4th day of the week at the Governor's house, at 9 o'clock in the forenoon and oftener if he should deem it necessary to give them notice.

We have previously spoken of Penn's ability and aptitude as a letter writer, and the following is no exception. We regret, owing to its length, that we cannot give this letter entire; it was addressed to M. Birch, who, it appears, was the Collector of Customs at New Castle, a position he held under the home government. We wish the communication that elicited the reply could also be given, if for no other reason than for comparison.

"Philada. 2d, 4th month, 1700.

"M. Birch, I received thy short hand letter of the 28th past, and am sorry that after so much care taken to make masters of vessels remember their duty to the

Port and solemn promises given by them before they are discharged here, any should be so rude or negligent as to pass you by unregarded. There is a short Bill now before the Assembly to make omission penal. Yet hadst thou a boat as Collectors in other places have, and which thou canst not think I am obliged to find thee, thou mightst easily take a course, having law on thy side and art like to have a stronger, to make them more observant and bring the refractory to reason. Thou canst not expect that any at Philadelphia forty miles distant from you can put laws in execution at New Castle, without any care or vigilance of officers there, especially since no place in the river or bay yields that prospect that is at New Castle of seeing twenty miles one way and a dozen the other, any vessel coming either up or down.

"I must confess I thought the particular regard I have always shown to the King's concerns since my arrival, as well as his immediate officers, and their particular interests might have deserved better returns than such testy expressions as thou flingst out in thy letters both to myself and of me to the Members of Council. Pray let not me be a sufferer for the pique thou hast against the Collector here. I have nothing to do with your differences let your Masters at home decide it, what comes fairly before me I shall acquit myself with honour and justice to the best of my understanding, without regard to fear or favour for those sordid passions shall never move the Proprietor and Governor of

Pennsylvania. I understood thou talkst of writing home, and making I know not what complaints. I hope thou wilt be cautious on that point at least I should write too, which when I do, may prove loud enough to make thee sensible of it at a distance."

CHAPTER XXIII.

PENN SUGGESTS THE NIGHT WATCH IN PHILADELPHIA. —ATTENDS HAVERFORD MEETING.—MAKES ADDITIONAL IMPROVEMENTS AT PENNSBURY.

[*July, August, 1700.*]

As had been determined, on adjournment, the Council met at the Governor's house on the 1st of July, 1700, when it was unanimously agreed upon that a person be appointed and authorized to go through the town with a small bell during the night to give notice of the hour and weather, and also if any disorders or danger happen from fire or otherwise, to inform the constables thereof. It was further agreed that the Secretary "give notice to Benjamin Chambers and ——— Powell, keepers of the ferries over Schuylkill, that after the close of day to transport no persons unless well known to them or that cannot give a good account of themselves." This undoubtedly was the origin of the night watchmen in Philadelphia. The Governor proposed to the Council to consider upon the law about making prisons more effectually workhouses. It was upon this idea that the present penitentiaries and houses

of refuge in the State were established, and we therefore need not wonder that the "Pennsylvania system" has had such an extended reputation for the reformation of criminals. The Governor held meetings of the Council also on the 3d, 10th, 17th, 24th and 31st of this month.

In a letter to Lord Bellomont, dated "Philia. 4, 5 mo., 1700" the Governor remarks, "If thy Indian officers are true to thee, and that seasonable presents be made them I should be under no apprehensions of danger. I expect two hundred of our Western and Northern Indians with me every day, and shall endeavor such an understanding with them as may disappoint the French this way and find out their counsels, as far as may be on your side. I am not without some perplexity from the same men and measures that have been thine but I am not without hopes of conquering them. A Governor has need of wisdom and patience, as well as justice which I pray for. I have had the company of my kinsman Parmiter some weeks whom I find thy sincere servant."

Since his return from England we now find the earliest positive information of Penn residing at Pennsbury. This in part, no doubt, was owing to his family relations as well as the nature of his complicated affairs respecting the pirates, the giving up the Charter, the withholding of compensation and numerous other matters that could best require attention at the metropolis and seat of government. Owing to a gouty

attack of his limb he was now in part confined to bed, as the following extracts will show (Penn and Logan Cors., vol. I, pp. 4, 5), from a letter dated at Pennsbury the 23d of 5th month, 1700, and addressed to his Secretary, James Logan, in Philadelphia. In his letter to Lord Bellomont mention is made of an expectation every day of a visit from several hundred Indians, which he now directs to come to Pennsbury if he should not be able to come to town, and for whom he was now making preparations to entertain.

"I am concerned my leg is so little encouraging for a journey, and John is not here to row; however I propose to be in town, if I can, to-morrow; if not able to be there by five in the afternoon, must submit to Providence, and desire four of the Council, the collector, and minutes and witnesses to come hither, which they may do by my barge, which I will send to Burlington for them, where they may come in a Burlington boat to-morrow by twelve, and be here by two. However let John have the coach ready, and horses to put in it, that if I come, I may be helped down. Salute me to the Commissioners and Council, and Friends. We are else well, and pleased in our retreat.

"Half the five gallons of rum ran out, at Philadelphia, in the boat, as they say. If I am not with you to-morrow, by eleven or five, let the Indians come hither; but send, in the boat, white bread, more rum, and the match-coats. Let the Council adjourn to this place. If I come not, here will be victuals, and they

may lie at Burlington. I wrote part of this upon the bed."

An addition having been built this year to the Haverford meeting house at an expense of £158, which greatly increased its accommodations to the wants of a growing neighborhood. Robert Sutcliff, a Friend from Sheffield, England, in his "Travels in North America" (p. 109) makes mention of having visited this meeting the 12th of 10th month, 1805, and of which he gives the following interesting account: "This day attended Haverford meeting, at which were several strangers. This is one of the oldest meeting-houses in America; and at the early settlement of this meeting, Friends of Philadelphia went every third First day to attend it; most of them coming on foot a distance of about ten miles. At that time nearly the whole of the road was through a shady forest. By the early minutes of the Monthly Meeting, it appears that several Friends were appointed to mark out a road through the woods from Philadelphia, to Haverford and Radnor meetings."

At page 211 mentions that several months previous he spent an evening at the house of R. J., a very aged Friend residing near Merion, who related to him that "he had heard from an ancient Friend at whose house he had lodged, of the name of Rebecca Wood. When a little girl she used sometimes to walk from Darby, where she resided, to Haverford meeting, the distance of a few miles. One day as she was walking along,

she was overtaken by a Friend on horseback, who proved to be William Penn. On coming up with her he inquired where she was going; and on her informing him, he, with his usual good nature, desired her to get up behind him; and bringing his horse to a convenient place, she mounted, and so rode away upon the bare back. Being without shoes or stockings, her bare legs and feet hung dangling by the side of the governor's horse. Although William Penn was at that time both Governor and Proprietor, he did not think it beneath him thus to help along a poor barefooted girl on her way to meeting, and notwithstanding the maxims and customs of the world, these little kind offices to those he was appointed to govern, that there perhaps never was a Governor, who stood higher in the opinion of those governed by him, than William Penn did."

A tradition still prevails in the neighborhood on the occasion of the Governor attending this meeting, which it is very likely was about this time, that he arose and spoke and that a number of the Welsh Friends present could not understand him, having no knowledge of the language. But this was nothing new, for having settled in a great body the Welsh was chiefly spoken there for many years afterwards.

On the 2d of 6th month, Hannah Penn writes from Pennsbury to Logan wherein she mentions that "although John tells my husband of bricks prepared by J. Redman, yet he inclines to let E. James finish the

room which his men have begun. As for bricks, let him get no more than he has already bespoke, for my husband is informed he may have these of a new maker at Burlington, a crown cheaper, and much better, besides less charge in bringing. We expect John Sotcher to-morrow. Pray send by the first boat the deal boards from John Parsons, and our dog-wheel, not else; but desire thou wilt let me hear of all opportunities for England, and of any considerable news thence. We are all indifferent well. Let not Jack go till the Indians have been there; and get Indian meal for mush against they come. Pray send a pound or two chocolate, if to be had."

We ascertain from the aforesaid that considerable improvements were being made to the buildings at Pennsbury. By Jack the steward John Sotcher is evidently meant, and we observe preparations being still made for the expected coming of the Indians. By the inquiry concerning news from England was meant whether any letters had been received from there or opportunities offered to send.

A meeting of the Council was held in Philadelphia on the 7th of August at which the Governor was present. On which occasion complaint was made to the board "that the late firing of guns from on board some vessels lying before Philadelphia, has not only frightened women and children, but also some of the Seneca Indians that came hither to treat with this government to depart, believing the firing of said guns

to have been signs of hostility intended against them. It was therefore ordered that no vessels lying before the town of Philadelphia shall fire any guns but at coming in and going out, as a sign of their arrival and departure, and that James Logan give notice to Masters of vessels of this order at the entry of their vessels in his office. The Governor also, informed the three Seneca Indians that staid behind that it was the custom of the English to fire guns as a sign of joy and kind entertainment of their friends coming on board; and as in no ways intended to frighten or disoblige them. He also informed them, that they were and should be very welcome to this government, and in token of amity and friendship with them gave them a belt of wampum, to be shown to the other Seneca Indians that went away upon firing the said guns, which they kindly accepted. The Governor also desired the members of Council to go on board Capt. Sims' vessel with the said three Indians and their interpreter, that they might see the manner of the English on board their vessels, which was accordingly done to their great satisfaction."

Penn met the Council again in Philadelphia on the 14th and 15th. On the latter day it was "ordered by the Governor and Council, that the King's highway or public road, and the bridges thereon from the town of Philadelphia to the Falls of Delaware that now are, be with all expedition sufficiently cut and cleared from all timber, trees, stumps, logs and all other nuisances

whatsoever that lie across said way, and that the same over all creeks and branches, may be made passable, commodious, safe and easy for man, horse, cart, wagon or team, by the respective overseers of the highways and bridges within the respective precincts, townships and counties of Philadelphia and Bucks, according to law. And that the respective Courts of Justice and Justices of the Peace in the said Counties, cause the same to be duly performed, and the laws in those cases made and provided to be strictly put in execution, under the respective penalties therein contained, and that the Secretary send a copy of this order to the counties of Philadelphia and Bucks respectively."

On the 22d the Governor wrote from Pennsbury to Logan, and in regard to the surveys then being made says, "Take care also that I have five hundred acres in every township that is laid out, and that the surveyor do me right therein. Send me up one of Samuel Carpenter's compasses for the woods, to steer by and take courses, by the first opportunity. Urge the Justices about the bridge at Pennepecka and Poquessin, forthwith for a carriage, or I cannot come down. J. Redson would be expeditious in it, if pressed from me."

Hannah Penn on said day to the same, mentions that "If the Swiss Captain be uneasy to stay till next week, fail not to accompany him Fourth or Fifth day; but you must depend on nothing here but a dinner, and return to Buckingham or Burlington at night,

because of company in the house. Endeavor to inform thyself of his inclination; and if practicable encourage it, makes my husband the more solicitious to have him pleased. Let Edward Shippen know his daughters are well, and shall come in our boat with John to-morrow or next day."

In the aforesaid we see that the Governor must have been considerably given to journeys on horseback through the woods at this time to require the use of a compass. We also learn that he was desirous that the bridges over the Pennypack and Poquessing be finished for the crossing of his carriage to Philadelphia. Buckingham was the ancient name of Bristol, where a house of entertainment had been established before the Proprietary's first arrival. The hint about ascertaining the Captain's inclination is quite ingenious. Edward Shippen, whose daughters had been visiting at Pennsbury, came from Hilham in Yorkshire, England, and emigrated to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1669. Being a member of the Society of Friends and owing to persecution removed from there to Philadelphia in 1693. On his arrival in December, 1699, the Governor and his family occupied his mansion for about a month. When the city was chartered in October of the following year he was appointed by Penn its first Mayor. He also held other offices as Speaker of Assembly and member of the Provincial Council.

We hear from Pennsbury again on the 31st. "I

want," writes the Governor, "a quire of large and small quarto paper, by first opportunity. The fur, &c., is come, a dear voyage by the boat. Let me know John Askew's last day, or his ships. If the foxes be any inconvenience, pray forbid it, for I am indifferent to send or stay them. We shall want about twelve bushels of lime more, which send off first to Samuel Jennings for me. We are through mercy well."

He had expected to send to England as a present to a friend a couple of young tame foxes. By the demand for more lime denotes that the improvements there were still going on, and it was perhaps owing to the unfinished state of the buildings at this time that the accommodations for lodgers was limited.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TOO MUCH THE PRACTICE TO CHEAT THE GOVERNOR.—PACIFIES A TROUBLESOME INDIAN.—VISITS NEW YORK WITH THE GOVERNORS OF VIRGINIA AND NEW JERSEY.

[*September, 1700.*]

DURING the greater portion of September, we are inclined to believe, the Governor continued at Pennsbury, where he was still vigorously going on with his improvements. On the 3d he wrote from here to his Secretary, wherein he says, "I think to be in town the first fair day, and so let Edward Antill know. Send up our great stew-pan and cover, and little soup dish, and two or three pounds of coffee, if sold in the town, and three pounds of wick, ready spun for candles, per next opportunity. The lime may be kept till our men come up. Lassel is plumber enough; but if thee can get Cornelius Empson's man, and he has tools, send speedily, for the house suffers in great rains for want thereof. If Lassel dares undertake mending of the leads, per first opportunity send him up. Three bundles of skins that Sol. Ward returned are

in my chamber; send one to Billy, the others to my father, Callowhill, and get John Askew to put them in his chest, and give him the enclosed letters also."

It would seem that coffee was not then an article of general sale and but little introduced. It appears the leakage of the "leads" was a constant source of trouble as well as expense, and from their imperfect condition eventually caused the destruction of the mansion by a decay from the rains. By Billy is probably meant his son then in England.

"Tell John Moore," he writes on the 5th, "I would have him get indicted one John Walch of that county for coming into this county and taking hence two strays; one a roan mare and colt, and the other a brown bay gelding—both four years old last spring or thereabouts. 'Twas last 4th month. I have often heard ill of him for driving horses from one county to another, and am much a loser by such fellows and practices. It is too much a practice to think it no fault to cheat the Governor." Moore was prosecuting attorney in the Court of Admiralty established by the Crown. All unclaimed strays as well as unmarked stock were forfeited to the Governor.

He writes again from Pennsbury the following day (6th of 7th mo., 1700), and thus alludes to Thomas Fairman. "I hear an Indian township called Tohickon, rich land, and much cleared by the Indians, he has not surveyed to mine and children's tract, as I expected. It joins upon the back of my manor of

Highlands, and I am sorry my surveyor-general did not inform me thereof, for which cause he shall never survey a foot more; but I will know where and what, by him or his deputies. I feared a surprise, told him so, and now find it to my great dissatisfaction; but for the future shall prevent it. If it be not in thy warrants, put it in, except lands already or formally taken up, or an Indian township. The Indians have been with me about it.

"Next, pray speak for 3 or 4,000 bricks, and tell J. Parsons I expect his 150 foot of boards three months sooner, and pay for them. Also a load or thirty bushels of lime, and let them be ready by 6th night, if possible, to be here by the flat on 7th day, or 2d day, and two of my folks shall come in the little boat to bring it up. Fail not to send up a flitch of our bacon, and by all means chocolate, if to be had, and a cask of middling flour, from Samuel Carpenter or I. Norris, and some coffee-berries four pounds. Some flat and some deep earthen pans for milk and baking, which Betty Webb can help thee to, and cask of Indian meal; search Lumley's goods, search for an ordinary side-saddle and pillion, and some coarse linen for towels. We are as well as the heat will let us, but my leg still out of order and swells still about my ankle.

"Captain Hans stays; we have adjusted the matter. Encourage Hetcoqueean, and give him ten bits to fetch down the Indians, if they desire; else not, assure them of friendship. Let us have four dozen of

square hearth tiles, with the rest of the things. Let me know the last day of John Askew's stay; also, if they will take a couple of young tame foxes. Pray examine closely about those that fired upon the Indians, and frighted them by Dan. Pegg's, it is of moment to us, and if true, roguishly designed, I doubt not, and shall be severely punished."

Captain Hans was an Indian trader of whom there is some account in chapter xxvii. John Askew was a prominent London merchant, now on a visit to this country, and it would appear the owner of a ship. Daniel Pegg resided in the immediate vicinity of Front and Willow streets, where Pegg's run now empties into the Delaware through a culvert on the line of the latter street. We thus see that Penn was determined in all his actions, or as far as laid in his power, to be on amicable terms with the Indians, for which he cannot receive too much praise.

Heckoqucom, Hetcoquean or Wehequeekhon, his name being variously spelled, is the only instance I have found in all my researches of any Indian being troublesome, either while Penn was in the colony or in the interval of his absence up to his departure for England. Respecting him in consequence, I have felt curious and have gleaned from various sources sufficient to make out the following account: In the deed of June 15th, 1692, he is called "King Hickoqucom," and with three others disposes of all their right to lands lying between the Neshaminy and Poquessing from

the river Delaware. Polycarpus Rose informs the Council, December 19th, 1693, that about five weeks previous he had "some discourse with a certain Indian King, called Hicquoqueen," when he "resented the unkindness of the English to the Indians here; and further said that they were not like to hold the land much longer, for that they were not satisfied for it." (Col. Records, vol. I, p. 396.) No doubt he is the same whom Samuel Smith mentions in his history of the Province (Haz. Register, vol. II, p. 215) as coming to the house of John Chapman, one of the earliest settlers of Wrightstown, Bucks county, under the following circumstances: "One of their chiefs," he says, "however one day coming to him in an angry tone told him it was their land he was settled on, pointing to a small distance, where the bounds of the English purchase and borrowing an axe, marked a line to the southeast of his house, and went away without giving him any further trouble at that time; and the Proprietor's Commissioners soon after making a second purchas prevented any uneasiness in the future." In the deed of July 5th, 1697, Wehequeekhon alias Andrew, is mentioned as the son of Taminy and "who is to be king" after his death. This was for a purchase of the lands between the Pennypack and Neshaminy creeks. At a Council held at the house of Edward Farmer, Indian interpreter at Whitemarsh, the 19th of May, 1712, mention is made that Hetoqueen had died soon after he had got the belts from Governor Penn

eleven years before. He is mentioned as attending with several other Indians a Council held at Philadelphia, July 26th, 1701, at which time he may have received the afore-mentioned belts, as we know that Penn expected some Indians there about that time. We thus see that he was an Indian of some note whom Penn directed his Secretary to encourage with a present and as one possessing influence amongst them. From his claims he must have been a resident of Philadelphia or Bucks. He may have been of intemperate habits, hence his troublesomeness which it is likely did not appear while the Proprietary was among us.

The Governor on the 7th writes that "The weather by water hinders me. My leg is well advanced, and would not throw it back; yet the first fair day, will, God willing, set forward; and had done so sooner, if coach or calash had been here, as the ways are tolerable cut." He probably means that the weather was too stormy to travel with comfort or safety by water in his barge. We see that tolerable advance must have been made by this time in opening the road from Philadelphia to the Falls.

Penn was present at a meeting of the Council held in Philadelphia on the 11th and following day. It was resolved on the 12th, that the Proprietary and Governor issue writs immediately to summon the freemen in each county to meet on the 1st of 8th month next, to

choose four persons to serve as their representatives in Assembly, to meet at New Castle on the following 14th, the Secretary to have said writs prepared forthwith.

From the Pennsylvania Archives (vol. I, pp. 133-4), we learn that on the 13th, "Weddaagh, alias Orytyagh, and Andaggy-junkquagh, Kings or Sachemas of the Susquehanna Indians, and of the River under that name, and lands lying on both sides thereof, do declare that for and in consideration of a parcel of English goods, unto us given, by our friend and brother William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania, and also in consideration of the former much greater costs and charges, the said William Penn hath been at intreating about and purchasing the same. We do hereby give, grant and confirm all the said river Susquehanna and all the islands therein, and all the lands situate, lying and being upon both sides of the said river, and next adjoining to the same, extending to the utmost confines of the lands, which are or formerly were the right of the people or nation called the Susquehanna Indians. And we do hereby ratify and confirm unto the said William Penn the bargain and sale of the said lands, made unto Col. Thomas Dongan, now Earl of Limerick, and formerly Governor of New York, whose deed of sale to the said Governor Penn we have seen, to the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns forever, and set our hands and seals the 13th day of September 1700. Sealed

and delivered in the presence of Edward Antill, Henry Tregeny, Esq., Edward Singleton, David Powell and James Logan."

On the 14th, the Governor writes to Logan from Pennsbury that "We want rum here, having not a quarter of a pint in the house among so many workmen; best in bottles sealed down, or it may be drawn and mixed; send by Burlington boat, except S. Hill carefully carry it to Ann Jennings for us—six quarts; and if an hogshead of lime could be reasonably brought by any boat that comes to the mill at Brocks, as Isaac Norris, etc, or to Burlington, we could send for it, and that would close all for this year of that nature we think.

"Let Joseph Wood (sheriff of New Castle county) know that I hear Governors Nicholson and Blackiston intend in ten days for Philadelphia; and that I would have him wait upon them with a good number of persons; that he summon to wait at the borders of the county, and conduct them to New Castle, and thence till he meets with the sheriff of Chester county, to whom write to conduct them to the confines of his charge or county, where J. Farmer shall attend them. Let at least twenty persons be ordered for each party; and write to H. Hollingsworth to help the sheriff to manage things. The magistrates of each place to give their attendance, some to ride out, some to receive them at alighting. If needful, prepare a draught of an order or letter to each county, and send it me

forthwith, as also to lodge them, and immediate servants, at their private houses. The first fair day I intend down."

By his orders we see that Penn was determined to exhibit to these Governors due respect, more than we would have otherwise expected. They accordingly came on to Philadelphia, but were both taken ill on the way. Col. Blackiston so much so that he was obliged to return to Maryland. Col. Nicholson, though very weak with the fever, came on to New York accompanied by Penn and Col. Hamilton, the Governor of New Jersey, where they arrived on the 22d and remained till the 4th of the following month, when urgent business required the Proprietary's return, more particularly in relation to the meeting of the Assembly on the 14th.

CHAPTER XXV.

IMPORTANT MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY AT NEW CASTLE.—INTERCESSION AND SELF-SACRIFICE FOR A CONDEMNED VESSEL.—ABLE REPLY TO COLONEL QUARRY.

[*October and November, 1700.*]

On the 1st of 8th month or October, Penn addressed a letter from New York to his Secretary James Logan in Philadelphia, in which he says, "Give my love to Thomas Story, and tell him that I hope he supplies my absence about the laws, what is to alter or repeal, and that assist him therein. Colonel Nicholson has been very ill, and relapsed once or twice, which truly are of great importance to the weal of America." All laws passed here were carefully revised before being sent to England, and where they would have still to receive the royal approbation before they could be effective. The Editor of the Penn and Logan Correspondence (vol. I, p. 16), states that Governor Nicholson of Virginia was at this time "Lieut. Governor of New England and New York;" which is an error; besides we are not aware of any one person exercising such

extensive territorial jurisdiction. The date of the aforesaid letter is also incorrectly given as 9th month in Janney's Life of Penn (2d ed., p. 434.)

Respecting the visits of the several Governors to New York and their business at this time, Lord Bellomont, the Governor, thus speaks in his letter to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, dated the 17th of this (8th mo. or Oct.) month.

"As Col. Nicholson and Col. Blackiston were coming hither they were both taken ill on the way; Col. Blackiston could come no further than Philadelphia and thence returned again to Maryland. Col. Nicholson made a shift to get hither, but was very weak with his fever. He came here the 22d of last month, and returned the 11th instant. With him came Mr. Penn and Col. Hamilton Governor of the Jerseys. Col. Nicholson, Mr. Penn and I, had some discourse about these plantations; the heads on which we discoursed were drawn up in short terms by Mr. Penn. Col. Nicholson's indisposition hindered us from putting these heads into better form, besides too Mr. Penn has forgot to take notice of the first head we talked of, namely: A method how to draw the remote Indians over to us. Mr. Penn's occasions called him hence the 4th instant, and Col. Nicholson seemed to think Col. Blackiston's presence for the necessary observance of your Lordship's orders, and doing something which might answer your expectation and the end of our meeting.

"We have determined to meet next spring at Philadelphia. The 6th and 7th heads or articles in Mr. Penn's paper, Col. Nicholson and I declared to him were not pertinent to our purpose, the first of which is calculated to people his Proprietary colony, and the next is already ordered as he has stated it, by the King's commission and instructions to us, that are the Governors for the King. I shall hereafter offer some things to your Lordships consideration upon these and the like heads. I am assured from good hands that the profits of the Governor of Virginia are £4,000 a year, and those of the Governor of Maryland £2,500 a year.

"Col. Nicholson and Mr. Penn endeavored to reconcile the parties here, and took pains to reconcile me and the merchants. I told them I had no advances to make unless it could be proved I had governed arbitrarily and oppressed them in their trade, contrary to law; that for my part I was in charity with them and all the world, but if the merchants of New York expected to be reconciled to me, upon the terms of my indulging them in unlawful trade and piracy they should find themselves still mistaken, for I would be as steady as a rock on these points."

We here give the paper to which the Earl of Bellomont alludes and is called "Mr. Penn's Suggestions respecting the Plantations," and indorsed "Heads of several things proper for the Plantations to be recommended home to England." Drawn up by Mr. Penn

and communicated by him to the Earl of Bellomont and Col. Nicholson at their meeting at New York.

1st. We are humbly of opinion for the more easy and certain commerce of the Northern Colonies of America under the Crown of England; it would be convenient that there would be one standard or coin, or that money were of the same value; for in Boston that pieces of 8 are 8s., 6s. go in New York for 6s. 9d., in Jersey and Pennsylvania 7s. 8d., in Maryland 4s. 6d., Virginia at 5s. and in Carolina.

2nd. It would be much for the despatch of trade and business, if a mint for small silver to the value of 6d. were allowed in the city of New York for prevention of clipping, filing as well as wearing, which is very troublesome.

3rd. For the encouragement of returns it would be very expedient that due encouragement were given for the exportation of timber from hence for England by an impost on foreign timber, there being great quantities and good for shipping in these parts.

4th. That great caution should be observed to adjust the bounds with the French Commissioners or the loss will be great and irreparable. We take the south side of the River and Lakes of Canada to be our just and reasonable boundaries, soil and trade with the Indians being much concerned therein.

5th. For prevention of runaways and rovers and fraudulent debtors coming from one Province to another for shelter, that it were recommended to all these

governments to make a law with the same restrictions and penalties, as if the whole were one government.

6th. Foreigners coming daily of divers nations, especially Dutch, Swedes, and French, it is humbly offered that a general law of naturalization pass in England that such foreigners that come to inhabit in any of the King's Colonies that are by Act of Assembly declared freeman in the said Province, shall enjoy the rights and liberties of English subjects, except being masters or commanders of vessels and ships of trade.

7th. That it were generally signified to the respective governments for the prevention of vexatious and litigious practices, that no appeal for England should be admitted under the real value of £300.

8th. That not only charges in apprehending of pirates but a proportion of the prey may be assigned for such as shall take them, for the encouragement of their apprehension.

Like Penn's proposal for a Union of the American Colonies in 1696, contains several excellent suggestions which were greatly needed, particularly the 1st, 2d, 5th, 6th and 8th. As may have been expected even for such modest and reasonable requests, I believe not one of those last-mentioned heads ever received the least encouragement from the home government. The most important, like those relating to the Union of the Colonies, were left quietly to slumber, but there is no doubt that even then they foresaw danger, but

which should yet be restrained for three-quarters of a century.

The Governor attended a meeting of the Council in Philadelphia on the 10th, after which they met with the Assembly at New Castle on the 14th and continued in daily session there to the end of the month, excepting only on the 20th and 21st. On the 16th Joseph Growdon, accompanied by all the Representatives, appeared before the Governor and Council and acquainted them that they had chosen him for their Speaker, from which office he now desired to be excused, hoping the Governor would order the Assembly to choose a more suitable person. The Governor said that what the Assembly had now done fully satisfied him. Then the Speaker desired that at all times they might have access to the Governor's person and that a favorable construction be put on their words with freedom from arrests; which the Governor granted and then said:

"Friends, The calling you at this time was urgent; you know we want a Frame of Government and a body of Laws, without which society cannot subsist. I recommend to you the revisal of the Laws; which to continue, what to repeal, what to alter, what to explain, and what new ones to make. Secondly, I recommend to you the settling of property, Thirdly, a supply for the support of Government; and I recommend to you amity and concord amongst yourselves." This certainly may be regarded as a model address or message to the Legislature which for brevity probably has never been surpassed.

In his letter of the previous month, the Governor makes some allusion to an unfortunate affair. The ship *Providence* commanded by Captain John Lumley arrived in the Province with a cargo without having taken out the requisite papers, which according to the Admiralty laws forfeited both the vessel and cargo. Under the circumstances of the case Penn took compassion on the owners, even to the extent of some sacrifice, as may be seen in the following beautiful and feeling letter addressed to them, and for whom it will be seen he used every effort to intercede. Such a transaction as this, happening too before his arrival, what infinite credit it does him! even at a time when we know he was greatly distressed for the want of money, and the colony had refused him any compensation.

"New Castle, Pensia, 18th, 8 ber, 1700.

"Esteemed Friends: Expecting before this Capt. Lumley would have received orders from you about your ship, and from the employers about the cargo, I have hitherto deferred writing, but now finding you are both likely to suffer by your neglect, am forced to put you in mind of the ruinous condition of your interests in them. Through that unhappy slip of neglecting the Register, both ship and cargo were condemned before my arrival, so that there is no remedy here, but that you should take care of the Third allotted to me by Law, which when you please

to give orders for it, remains at your service, and to get the other two-thirds as easy as you can. These I have prevailed with the Judge of Admiralty to offer the Captain for £200 this country money, amounting to about £130 sterling, with which I cannot but think it will be your interest to comply, if you can find no other means to relieve yourselves at home. The third of the cargo which upon division was sent me waits also for the Merchants orders, for I intend not to be concerned with any part of it, but it is already much damaged and delay will make it worse. This is all I can serve you in here, and if you can do no better for yourselves there, I hope you will kindly accept it from your loving Friend.

WM. PENN."

On this matter of the ship *Providence* he further expresses himself in a letter without date to Charles Lawton, Esq., in England, in which he desires him "to take notice of the inhibitions that come from the High Court about Capt. Lumley's ship and goods, seized here and condemned, and goods appraised and disposed of by Col. Quarry the Judge and Moore the Advocate, my third remaining *in statu quo*, denying to accept of it, as thinking it a barbarous case, the inclosed states it. All I desire is, that I may not suffer by or for that which I had rather have suffered than have done or been concerned in."

To Col. Quarry, Judge of the Court of Admiralty

in which the vessel was condemned, he addressed from New Castle on the 11th of 9th month, quite a lengthy letter still further interceding, but it would appear from his statement to Lawton that nothing availed and that the vessel and goods fell a sacrifice to the unrelenting prosecutors, except what his generosity saved and allotted them. From the Logan correspondence we learn that the Queen's share of the cargo (being also one-third) amounted to £193.17.06½, Pennsylvania currency.

The Governor returns thanks on the 24th in a letter from New Castle to Joseph Cogsgarne for "kind presents of fish," and says, "for which I must own myself indebted, and am sorry this place affords nothing at present to make suitable returns with; but anything I can oblige thee in at this distance, thou mayst assure thyself of one ready to befriend thy interests."

That Penn was of an hospitable turn we see in a letter written about this time to Logan, in which he says, "Give the two Bristol captains a small collation at I. Jones's or Robins' or where thou wilt, as neats tongue or the like, and a bottle of wine on my account if thou seest fit." His letters frequently mention similar instances extended to others, particularly to the Indians.

The Council and Assembly continued in session at New Castle from the 1st to the 27th of November, excepting only on the 3rd, 10th, 17th, and 24th which were Sundays. We believe during all this time and

since the 14th of the previous month the Governor was in attendance. On the last day he caused Joseph Growdon, the Speaker on behalf of the Assembly, to sign all the Laws passed or agreed upon, after which he ordered the great seal to be affixed to the same. He then publicly and in the presence of the Council and Assembly declared the same to be the Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Territories thereto belonging, according to the King's letters patent, granted to him under the great seal of England. The Assembly was then prorogued to the 1st of 2d month (April) next, but he said he would not call them together till the 8th month came, unless through great emergency.

In regard to this session the author of the Historical Review of Pennsylvania (p. 38) observes that "in October following, a new Assembly was summoned. Not as before to consist of thirty-six Members, but of twenty-four; that is to say, four instead of six in each county. The place of meeting was also different: for instead of assembling as usual at Philadelphia, the Members were convened to New Castle; perhaps only to gratify the inhabitants of the Territories, at a time when extraordinary demands were to be made upon them for the gratification of the Proprietary-Governor. At the opening of this Assembly, the Governor said, he had called them upon urgent occasions; that they were in want of a Frame of Government; a body of Laws; a settlement of Property; and a supply for the

support of Government. Adding that he would give them all the assistance in his power. With the body of Laws they began, and made considerable progress in the work; but the Frame of Government again met with as many difficulties as before. The Conditions of Union between the Province and the Territories, in particular, had like to have produced an immediate separation; and the dispute which arose concerning equal privileges or equal voices in the Representatives, could be no otherwise compromised than by referring the issue to the next General Assembly." At page 6 remarks that "This Charter of Privileges for the Province, being the present Frame of Government passed Oct. 28, 1701, being the third. The first Frame of Government for the Province was made in England, April 25, 1682. The next Frame of Government (the second) was passed April 2, 1683, making three in less than twenty years." It appears by this that the Frame of Government here agreed upon was still in force in 1759, when said work was published, and so we may justly conclude was retained till the Revolution, when it was set aside for a new constitution independent of both the Proprietary and Royal governments.

As from what has been stated, it will be observed that the proceedings here of the Governor, Council and Assembly were unusually important, which deserve some further consideration. Isaac Norris, in a letter to Daniel Zachary dated 8th of 10th month, 1700, thus

speaks on the subject: "I am at length got home from wearisome New Castle, after near seven weeks' session, much teasing, but in short, we brought it to a pretty good conclusion. We compiled out of the old, and formed some new—in all about ninety laws in a body, as far as our capacities and general heads would admit. And for a closing stroke gave the Governor two thousand pounds, at which our malcontents are not well pleased, and some, I hear, endeavor to withstand paying."

Among the decided opponents to the Governor's measures was Col. Robert Quarry, who, in the sixth charge of his "Abstract of Several Informations relating to Irregular Proceedings and other undue practices in Pennsylvania," states that "Mr. Penn prevailed with the Assembly, at one sitting, to make a present to him of two thousand pounds per annum and upwards, in taxes. The expense of their several sittings whilst he was there, amounts to above six hundred pounds."

This brought out a reply entitled, "Answers to the Abstract of Complaints against Proceedings in Pennsylvania by Wm. Penn." To the sixth charge the Governor ably answers, that "I acknowledge the two thousand pound money (which makes not twelve hundred pounds English); but his one thousand pounds is not above seven hundred pounds that money, nor five hundred pounds this, and nearly expired. But is that such a recompence, when five times the sum is less than my due; having not had for twenty years one

farthing, but maintained the deputy Governor at my own charges. And yet more than half of what they gave me is yet unpaid, and if Colonel Quarry and his factious adherents can obstruct it, will never be paid me. Whereas had the law of imposts, given me in 1683, been received, it had been twenty thousand pounds and more, money in my way; and which was only by me waived for a few years in our infancy, upon promises never performed to me."

The following letter addressed to his cousin Robert Asheton, Sheriff of Philadelphia, is calculated to show the liberal and kindly spirit that actuated the benevolent founder, and does him credit as a Christian. It is supposed to allude to the Rev. Dr. Evans of Christ Church who arrived about this time, and continued in charge till 1718.

"NEW CASTLE, 1st, 9ber, 1700.

"R. Asheton. The new minister sent over from Philadelphia, has been with me, and appears a man, sober, and of a mild disposition, that may be prevailed with to be easy. I must therefore desire thee to use all early methods by thyself, and such others of your Church as are for peace, and a friendly understanding to make impressions on his mind for the best and by all seasonable means, endeavor to dispose him to an easiness of mind and good inclination to the public, and the people in general he is now to live amongst.

Assuring him that while he behaves himself with candor and ingenuity, he shall want no good will from, nor kindness that I can shew him, and that he may expect as much favor in all reasonable things, as he could from any Governor of his own way. Thy care in this I hope I may depend on having assurance of thy good inclinations to the peace of the public, and that thou art sensible one of the greatest advantages to be reaped from religion is a quiet easy mind, which as it is inwardly enjoyed, will show itself no less in all exterior things. As thou findst occasion a line from thee on this head would be acceptable to him that is with kind love to thyself and family thy assured friend and affectionate kinsman. W. P."

On the 6th the Governor addressed a letter from New Castle to Governor Blackiston, in which he humorously says, that " By this time Governor Nicholson has at large informed thee of all who surprised me at New Castle, when I thought him upon the coasts of Virginia. I see one must be upon one's guard with soldiers, that understand so well, beating up their neighbor's quarters.

" I am to complain of one Capt. Barford, who has exceeded all bounds. He has not only without the consent of passengers or stress of weather, altered his port, and injured his passengers extremely by it, but forced servants bound by indenture to serve here, to serve in Maryland, and by such threats of treatment

as hardly have example. I do in the name of our General Assembly and laws of our Province, as well as in behalf of the said servants, beg of Governor Blackiston an examination of this affair, for example sake, and that we may have justice against the said Capt. Barford, at least as far as relates to the servants, leaving the rest to the undertakers at home to consider of."

Immediately after the adjournment of the Assembly at New Castle, Penn returned to Pennsbury, and very probably from over exertion and exposure from its long sitting of six weeks, became quite unwell. In a letter addressed to James Logan near the close of this month his wife thus alludes to his condition and of some other matters:

"My husband has been, for some time, especially the two days past, much indisposed with a feverish cold; his sweating, last night relieved him, but not so as to be capable of going to town without great hazard of his health, which has prevailed with him to stay till to-morrow, when, if better, he intends not to fail of being in town; wherefore he would have the Council to adjourn, from day to day, till they see him. Also, would have thee tell Thomas Story to read over the laws carefully, and observe their shortness and other defects, with memoranda of directions, especially those about courts of justice, marriage, law of property, unreasonable alienation of fines, &c., and what time thou canst spare he would have thee employed on the same subject."

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PROPRIETARY OFFICIALS GIVEN TO LAND SPECULATIONS.—COURTS OF INQUIRY ESTABLISHED.—PAMPHLETS PRINTED AND CIRCULATED IN GERMANY TO PROMOTE EMIGRATION.

[*December—February, 1700.*]

FROM Penn's letter to the Lords of Trade, written on the 8th of 10th month, 1700, we learn that he had proposed but five days stay at New York, but instead remained there from the 22d of 7th to the 4th of the following month, some twelve days, which caused him to leave in such haste, on account of the Assembly meeting soon after, that he could not bring along with him a copy of his "Suggestions respecting the Plantations," and in consequence left the original with Lord Bellomont. However he refers to it at some length, and amongst other matters observes, "That a stricter method also were recommended to ye respective colonies about Marriage, it too often falling out that one man has two wives and one woman two husbands, in

which give me leave without vanity to desire your perusal of our law that comes by next opportunity, for the great scandal that lies upon the American colonies alls for a reformation in this particular with some expedition. That a general Post were settled not only here, which in measure is done, but that there were two or three little post vessels by the King appointed to bring and carry letters, at those seasons especially when greater ships cannot or do not so usually come or go, for the benefit of trade and private conveniences as well as more public affairs of the Crown." The aforesaid "Suggestions" have been given in the previous chapter.

On the 9th the Governor addressed a letter to Lord Bellomont, chiefly on the subject of piracy, and concludes by saying, "My wife and daughter with myself beg the acceptance of our best wishes to Lord and Lady Bellomont." On the same day he also addressed from Philadelphia a long letter to the Commissioners of Customs in London, from which we select the following extracts:

"In my last, mentioning the business of M. Birch, the Collector of New Castle, and James Menzies, I promised to make a full inquiry into that affair, with an intention to bring it to a second trial. In pursuance of which I omitted nothing that might have the least tendency to clear it. But the subject will scarce, I doubt deserve any further words: Birch himself is dead, and the two pirates in the boat, who were then

out of prison upon bail, taken, are executed, as we hear by the last news from New York, and nothing could be proved against Menzies the only person of the company surviving, otherwise he would have suffered smartly for it.

"The Collector deceasing about six weeks ago, I thought myself obliged least the King's affairs should suffer, to appoint one in his place till your pleasure were known, his name is Joseph Wood, a sober man of a good reputation, faithful I believe, and understanding, he has been sheriff of that county for some considerable time, and will serve the best of any I could find, till you please either to dispose of it otherwise, or if you think fit to confirm it. My longer stay at New York with Lord Bellomont and Governor Nicholson, than was expected, occasioned me to slip the opportunity in September last, I designed to send by. Because so many complaints have been against us upon the account of Trade, I resolved to keep that important office in my own hands till I had time to look about me and consider of a person fit for the trust.

"I have only this to request that among other instructions that you may think requisite for our better conduct, you would be pleased to give some directions about the Curasao Trade. They go from hence with provisions only, and pretend to bring back nothing but money, but that trade affords so many temptations for importing valuable Dutch goods, that I know not how to be sufficiently secure in it, considering the

length of our river. But your advice if you please favour us with it, will clear all."

Meetings with the Council were held by the Governor in Philadelphia on the 18th and 19th, which I believe were the only ones held during the month. On the 31st he addressed a letter to Gov. Nicholson of Virginia in which he states, "I was troubled to hear Col. Quarry's ill account of thy health after leaving us so well and brisk. Thou must excuse my solicitousness for thy recovery and that I therefore recommend an infusion of wormwood, centuary, agrimoney and chamomile flowers in good spring water, at least the three first. Put them in water hot, and drink it as tea and also cold instead of other drink at meals or without wine, and moderate the bitterness as it may be grateful especially at meals. It is a course I am falling into for prevention, for it fortifies the stomach and sweetens the blood." And adds by way of postscript, "Pray is poor Jack the Indian got home. I clothed him and sent him from New Castle two months and more, since as I suppose, and letters by him to thyself and Governor Blackiston."

From the first book of Marriage Records in Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, we learn that on the 31st of 10th month, William Powell, a cooper of Philadelphia and son of William, was married to Elizabeth Kelley, of the same place in the meeting house. Among those present as witnesses on this occasion we find the names of William Powell, Sr., John Powell, William

Kelley, Thomas Shute, Joseph Estlacke, Ann Powell, Hannah Penn and thirty-four others.

In his correspondence, Penn frequently alludes to the dishonesty of some of the officials of his day, and of those holding positions under him, so we must not conclude that official corruption is altogether of modern date. It is known that at least a few who came with but little to this country and held positions became eventually owners of great tracts of lands, and in some cases extensive speculators therein and thus became wealthy. The foundations of several prominent families were laid in this manner, and to this class Penn gives hints, as we have no evidence of their assisting him in his pecuniary distresses, while they aimed at self-aggrandizement and making the most out of him. We will give first the following extracts from the History of New Sweden (Phila. ed. of 1874, pp. 125–7) by the Rev. Israel Acrelius :

"On the 14th of June, 1683, Proprietor Penn, under his own hand and the seal of the Province, issued an order to all the old inhabitants of the Province, who had not yet received deeds for their lands, but only the Surveyor's certificates to make their surveys, according to orders from the Governor of New York, to send in these certificates, and take out deeds for the same. Also, that those who had deeds from the Duke of York should present themselves, and hand in their old deeds. The good and simple people, who did not know what that meant, generally handed in their cer-

tificates and deeds. Immediately thereupon Penn directed his Assembly to enact a law that old homesteads or farms should be resurveyed, and then large lots were found in excess of what the deeds covered, as they were not so particular about land in former times.

"Upon the river and creeks there were large tracts of swamp-lands which stood under water at flood-tide, but were dry at the ebb, and were useful for pasturage of cattle, but were not formerly embraced in the deeds. Some thousands of acres were, therefore, at this time, taken away from those who had hitherto possessed them, and sold to others, notwithstanding it was fixed by law that seven years of undisputed possession should give a clear title. Those who had given in their certificates and deeds never received them back again, and when they took out new ones were laid under three or four fold rents. Those who did not pay of their own accord were sued. But those who did not give up their old deeds, both held what they had and were exempt from increased rents. Finally these complaints burst forth in a petition to the Assembly in the year 1709, with the request that James Logan might be empowered to restore to them their old deeds, together with the excess of rents which he had wrongfully taken."

While in this country Penn established by his own authority in the several counties "Courts of Inquiry," selecting for its officers, persons to act under an official

sanction for his own particular benefit. This is best explained by the following, copied from the original commission which he issued for establishing the same in Bucks county. To our knowledge we find used herein by him for the first time the word "absolute" which in the charter granted to the Borough of Chester was extended to "true and absolute."*

"William Penn, absolute Proprietary and Governor in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Territories thereunto belonging.

"To my trusty and well beloved friends Phineas Pemberton, William Biles, and Richard Hough—sendeth greeting:—

"For the complete settling and establishing of Affairs of Property within the County of Bucks in this Province of Pennsylvania. Know ye That I have constituted and appointed you, and do hereby appoint and commission you the said Phineas Pemberton, William Biles, and Richard Hough, or any two of you to hold a Court of Inquiry, for examining, searching and inquiring into the rights, titles and claims of all and singular the Freeholders or Inhabitants of the said County, to any Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments within the same, at such times and places in the said county as to you shall seem most convenient, Hereby granting unto you full power and authority by your Order or Warrant under the hand of any two of you to summon or cause to be summoned all persons concerned to ap-

* Also see Chapter XXXIII.

pear before you in the said Court, as you shall appoint; to produce all Grants, Letters Patent, Conveyances, Records, and all other Papers and Writings as you shall see cause, that in any wise relate to Their Titles or Claims as aforesaid. Also to commend and require all needful Officers, especially the Constables of the said County, to attend to your service, as there shall be occasion, who are hereby required and commanded to obey all your Orders respectively herein. I do also hereby further empower you the said Phineas Pemberton, William Biles, and Richard Hough, or any two of you, fully to inquire into the State of my Quit-rents in the said County and diligently to examine what part of the said Rents have been paid, and to whom, and what remaineth behind unpaid, and to take and keep an exact account thereof. Also carefully to inquire into all Escheats, Fines and Forfeitures, that are fallen to me or become my due in said county. And of all your Proceedings in pursuance of this Commission make a due and faithful Report to me fairly in writing under your hands to the end that the State of Property in the said County being particularly known, the respective Inhabitants and Freeholders may be the more effectually settled and confirmed in all their just titles and claims to lands therein. Given under my Hand and the great Seal of the Province, at Philadelphia, the Eighteenth of the Tenth Month, 1700.

WM. PENN."

As might have been expected the exercising of such authority so liable to gross abuse caused some excitement. A petition was gotten up in consequence by some of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and addressed to the Assembly the following September, from which we take several extracts:

"The following particulars are humbly tendered to your serious consideration, and that they may have due weight with you is the earnest desires of us the subscribers, in behalf of ourselves and other the inhabitants of this Government.

"2ndly. That before the Proprietor go for England, he grant us such an Instrument as may absolutely secure us in our Estates and Properties from himself, his heirs and assigns forever, or any claiming from under him, or any of them, as also to clear all Indian Purchases.

"11thly. That whereas the Proprietor hath been prevailed on to erect a Court, called by some a Court of Inquiry, before which divers of the inhabitants were summoned, and ordered to appear to show the Titles of their Lands contrary to their rights and priviliges as Freeborn English subjects, and not warranted by any Law, Custom or Usage of this Province, as we know of, you would be pleased to represent the same as a great Aggrievance, and endeavor, that no such thing be allowed for the future.

"Also that such Person or Persons as advised him to erect the said Court receive such reprehension or

other prosecution for such their ill advice, as you shall think fit. And further that you would please make enquiry by what Authority persons have been sent for by warrants and mandates, signed and alleged by the Governor's order, to his great dishonor and the infringement of the Subject's Liberty, and that any officers signing such Warrants or Mandates, may be examined and receive such reproof for the same, as may deter him or them from such practices for the future."

This petition was dated "Philadelphia, ye 17th of 7th mo., 1701," nearly seven weeks before the Proprietary's departure, and signed by sixty-nine persons. Among these may be mentioned Griffith Jones, Thomas Paschall, Joshua Carpenter, Francis Rawle, John Kensy, William Hudson, Thomas Wharton, William Powell, Charles Read, William Coleman, Joseph Wilcox, Benjamin Wright, Nehemiah Allen, Thomas Masters and Thomas Coates. None of said signers, we believe, ever held any positions under the Proprietary government and could therefore be free in the expression of their sentiments. It may be seen in full at pp. 275-7 of vol. VI. (for 1853) of the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

A committee of the Assembly the following day agreed that the 2d article was "needful to be obtained," and the 11th "be laid before the General Assembly, in order to have such persons sent for as shall be supposed delinquents therein." It was also further

agreed that the said petition "be fairly drawn over and presented to the Proprietor for his perusal and consideration, to the several particulars therein mentioned." This result was quite unexpected to Penn if we are to judge by the letter from Isaac Norris to Daniel Zachary on the 3d of 8th month following, wherein he says, "Our Governor highly resents an address made to the Assembly and from them recommended to him." I have been unable to ascertain anything further about this "Court," which the Proprietary from its unpopularity may have shortly after let drop, or was compelled to abandon for the want of creditable officers willing to serve thereon.

In regard to the land speculators of this day, it appears for instance by the records that immediately after the Proprietary had left the Province, some of his officials took up in great tracts some of the best lands in the central parts of Bucks county, and retailing them to actual settlers, I mean between the years 1701 and 1718, and of which no evidence exists of the Indian title having been previously extinguished, and which is confirmed by subsequent purchases from them.* Again there was another great trouble about the surveys. From the beginning the Surveyors with their deputies held their positions direct from the Proprietary, and after several years settlement and considerable lands had been sold the Governor ordered his officials to make resurveys, and where the quantity

* See History of the Indian Walk, Chapters II. and III.

proved to be over that mentioned in the grant to be his. There was no alternative with the purchasers or holders than to go by his surveyors, whether the amount was more or less than was called for, and if in consequence unfairness was practiced in the measurement was not their faults. We will take for instance the manor of Moreland, surveyed to Nicholas More, in 1684, for 9,815 acres. After his death the Proprietary's Commissioners of Property, by a warrant dated the 10th of 5th month, 1689, directed Thomas Fairman to make a resurvey of the same. He reported an overplus of five hundred acres, which was laid off on its upper part, and was afterwards purchased from the Proprietary in two tracts, one of two hundred and fifty acres by said Fairman, and the other by Anna Salters. The records of this time prove numerous similar instances.

We can find nothing of interest whatever relating to Penn that transpired during 11th month or January. Perhaps like nature, now taking a rest after long and continuous exertions for the general good. William Penn, Jr., under date of "Worminghurst, Feb. 11th, 1700," addressed a letter "For James Logan, Secretary to His Excellency in Philadelphia," in which he mentions that "I am now to tell thee that yesterday, at half past eight in the morning, to a minute, my wife was brought to bed of a brave boy." This was his eldest son Springett, who died at London in 1767.

Meetings of the Council were held in Philadelphia,

on the 14th, 15th and 18th, at all of which the Governor was present. On the 15th representation was made that the law against strangers travelling without passes and obliging the innkeepers to give notice to some magistrate of such coming to lodge at their houses has been much neglected, and seldom put in practice. It was in consequence ordered that a proclamation be issued requiring all persons to observe said laws, and have them more effectually put in execution.

During this year (1700) several pamphlets were published in the German language by Andrew Otto, bookseller at Frankfort and Leipzig, to encourage emigration to Pennsylvania. One was called "Curiesuse Nachricht von Pensylvania in Norden America," by Daniel Falkner, who styles himself "Professor, Citizen and Pilgrim there." It contains 58 octavo pages, and in it he states that he had arrived here in 1700, and settled at Germantown, where he was made a Bailiff. He was one of the agents or attorneys for the Frankfort Land Company. Falkner's Swamp in the upper part of the present Montgomery county was called after him. Francis Daniel Pastorius' Description of Pennsylvania, of 120 pages, also appeared at this time of which we have spoken in Chapter XI. Penn's Description written in 1683 appeared in 14 pages, and Thomas Paschall's in 3 pages. Gabriel Thomas' Account of the Province appeared in 1702 in 40 pages, with a map which strange to say gives the Schuylkill

river on it pretty correctly for fifty miles from its mouth, also the Neshaminy, Perkiomen and Manatawny creeks with all their principal branches. Pennsbury is marked on it also Newtown, and Bridlington for Burlington, but not Bristol. Of course the last three pamphlets had been translated for the purpose.

Under the auspices of the Land Company there these five works were extensively circulated, and no doubt done much afterwards to encourage emigration hither. An antiquarian friend,* several years ago, secured copies of all the aforesaid while traveling in Germany, to which he has kindly let the author have access and make translations. It is probable that collectively these have never been noticed before in any work relating either to Penn or his colony. Thus the materials for history are brought together more and more, additions made, and obscure matters solved.

* The late Joseph J. Mickley, of Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XXVII.

A PEACEFUL LETTER SENT TO THE COUNTESS OF BELLOMONT ON THE DEATH OF HER HUSBAND.—ADDITIONAL TREATY WITH THE SUSQUEHANNA INDIANS.—A SECOND CHARGE OF WITCHCRAFT.

[*March–May, 1701.*]

We have now arrived, according to old style, to the first month of the year, 1701. Judging by his correspondence and otherwise, we are inclined to believe that Penn, with his family, spent the winter, or the severe season, in Philadelphia, which appears to have been his practice. Several circumstances would direct to this: the roads at times being impassable from snows and thaws, and the river from ice and storms. A meeting of Council was held in town by the Governor on the 5th, and probably the only one during the month.

Isaac Norris, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia and an intimate acquaintance of the Proprietary's, in a letter to his friend Jeffry Pennell, dated the 6th of this month, gives the following interesting account of the

family: "The Governor, wife, and daughter well. Their little son is a comely, lovely babe, and has much of his father's grace and air, and hope he will not want a good portion of his mother's sweetness, who is a woman extremely well beloved here, exemplary in her station, and of an excellent spirit, which adds lustre to her character, and has a great place in the hearts of good people. The Governor is our *Pater Patriæ*, and his worth is no new thing to us; we value him highly, and hope his life will be preserved till all things now on the wheel are settled here to his peace and comfort, and the people's ease and quiet." John Penn, the lovely babe he alludes to, was born here on the 28th of 11th month, 1699, and was now a little over thirteen months old and was the first child of the present wife.

Notice was sent by the Council of New York of the death there of the Governor, Lord Bellomont, on the 5th instant, who had been for some time seriously indisposed. The Proprietary addressed a brief reply to them by post from Philadelphia on the 17th in which he says:

"Hon'd Friends. I heartily condole your loss; it is mine as well as yours, and the King's too. May that place be happy in a successor; you have lost a Governor but I a friend and an honorable and friendly neighbor. You are sure of all the good offices in my power, that may preserve and increase a good understanding between the Colonies for the service of the

Crown and our own common benefit. I take your notice with sorrow and respect. Your affectionate and faithful friend."

At the same time he did not forget the Countess in this her affliction, at whose house he had been five months previously a visitor and hospitably entertained. The following beautiful and feeling letter was addressed to her and we believe has never before been published:

" Countess of Bellomont.

" Noble Friend.—My grief exceeds my surprise and as I condole so great a loss to the Lady Bellomont, I must not leave myself out of that measure and share by the real honor and affection I had for him my noble Friend. I pray God soften this otherwise hard stroke to his family great losers, not otherwise to be repaired, and resignation is the only way to it. A friend as well as a husband or a wife is a double enjoyment which renders the loss double also; but we are born to die and death is the way to the longest as well as the best life. He has had many fits that have alarmed thee for this great change, so that the latter part of his life has been a preparative for your parting. The way to have so great a disappointment sanctioned to our comfort, is by this sorrowful occasion to learn how to wean our affections from those things that are wont to move us most with pleasure and satisfaction in this world. I wish my noble Friend, anything in my power could serve thee, I would religiously employ it, for the wife and friend of the Earl of Bellomont shall

always claim the right of survivorship in the esteem and service of her dear Lord's and her most faithful friend

WM. PENN.

"Mine sends with me our salutes in true mourning." (4.)

From the many kind letters that had passed between the parties with the friendly relations that existed, we think it proper to give here some further account: Richard, Earl of Bellomont, was born in the county of Sligo, Ireland, in 1636, and became there the second Baron of Colvony. Through his opposition to James II., he secured the favor of William and Mary who, November 2d, 1689, advanced him to the dignity of Earl of Bellomont. In 1660, he married Catharine. the daughter and heiress of John Nanfan, Esq., of Birch Morton, in the county of Worcester, with whom he had two sons, who successively inherited the title, He was buried with considerable honors in the chapel of the fort at the Battery. Soon after his decease the Countess returned to Ireland, where she died at the family seat in 1728, aged 90 years. Lieut. Governor Nanfan who succeeded him was probably her brother.

Penn addressed a letter from Philadelphia on the 31st to General Codrington, but possesses no particular interest. We cannot clearly make out from the correspondence who the General was, but infer that he was at this time Governor of Barbadoes.

John Hans, an Indian trader, was in the practice of

introducing rum among them, who it appears had promised to desist and call and see the Governor on the subject, but instead of doing this sent an agent to Philadelphia to procure supplies for the said traffic. On ascertaining this the Governor on the 12th of 2d month (April) sent him the following note :

" John Hans. Thou hast often promised to visit this place in order to treat with me about thy Indian trade, but hast as often disappointed me. Thy present management thereof amongst us is directly contrary to our Laws. I have therefore stopt thy goods intended for Lechay, till according to thy frequent engagements thou comst hither thyself and give further satisfaction than thou hast yet done to thy friend."

A serious disturbance likely through said cause having taken place about this time on the Lehigh river, Edward Farmer of Whitemarsh, interpreter, and John Sotcher of Pennsbury were sent up there in the following month to ascertain the intentions of the Indians in that vicinity. The above is the earliest mention of said river known to us, and the Germans to this day in their language in that section call it Lechay, which appears to be the proper Indian name. No doubt Hans conveyed his goods there by water, taking advantage of the spring freshets which would permit boats of sixteen tons and more to ascend to the forks.

A meeting of Council was held in Philadelphia on the 23d, at which was present the Governor, several

Members of the board, and divers others. On this occasion some forty Susquehanna Indians were introduced. Amongst those was Connodaghtah, chief of the Conestogoes, Wopathha, alias Opessah chief of the Shawanese, Weewhinjough, chief of the Ganawese, inhabiting the head of the Potomac; also Ahoakassough, brother of the Emperor or great King of the Onondaoes of the Five Nations, with Indian Harry as interpreter, besides several women and children. Speeches were made and a Treaty agreed upon, by which the Governor promised for himself, his heirs and successors that he and they should at all times act towards each other as true friends and brothers to each and all of those present, by assisting them with the best of advice and council, and in all just and reasonable things to befriend them, they behaving themselves and submitting to the Laws of this Province in all matters the same as the English and other Christians therein do. To which the said Indians faithfully agreed to abide both for themselves and their posterity forever. The proceedings of this treaty may be seen at length in the Pennsylvania Archives, vol. I., pp. 145–7. A meeting of the Council was also held on the 25th when they adjourned.

In consequence of the encroachments of the Deputy Sheriff of Somerset county into Sussex, and forcing some of the citizens there to yield due obedience to the authorities of Maryland, induced the Governor to proceed down there and learn the facts of the case, and

receive the testimonies of creditable witnesses on the subject. From Lewis he addressed a letter on the 6th of 3d month to "Col. Jenkens and Lieut. Col. Whitington, or either of them," who were residents of Somerset, and no doubt concerned in the affair.

"Gaining the first time," he says therein, "since my arrival into these parts to visit the people, know and redress their grievances as well as to look into the condition of my own interest, I find a part of my quiet possession disturbed by the subsheriff of Somerset county and part of the inhabitants claiming under me constrained from their obedience and fidelity to me in my double capacity, though no line be run or any warrant from our superiors at home to justify such an attempt. I shall not enumerate particulars that greatly aggravate the fault of the subsheriff, but in short say the place is mine unless running the line deprive me being within the bounds of the Dutch settlement and therefore first under York and long after under my government without his legislation. I therefore desire you as gentlemen that I hope wish me peace would seek peace and preserve it, to give no disturbance to the inhabitants of Cedar creek nor any this side Cape Henlopen. I was first in possession and on my part I shall take all imaginable care that no officer of mine shall encroach either in property or power upon your possession, whether the line may hereafter favour me or not. I wish you all happiness and am your cordial and affectionate friend."

Respecting this affair he wrote also to Col. Blackiston, the Governor of Maryland, from Philadelphia the 23d. "In my journey," he says, "in Sussex county some weeks past I found three or four of my tenants and inhabitants of this Government had been forced off by some in authority in Somerset county, Maryland, as the affidavits which accompany this express show and in a manner too that was an aggravation of the breach of good neighborhood and no line run or order from him to back it till the line was run, all was to stand in statu quo. I am sure none of my officers ever attempted the least encroachment in that County or at the head of the Bay."

This long and troublesome affair, concerning which Ellis in his Life of Penn, justly remarks that "Though these boundaries appear to be given with definiteness and precision, a controversy notwithstanding, arose at once between Penn and Lord Baltimore, which outlasted the lives of both of them, and, being continued by their representatives, was not in fact closed until the Revolutionary war."

Troubles at this time were apprehended from the Iroquois or Five Nations, residing in the central and northern parts of New York adjoining the Great Lakes, and of their being influenced by the French in Canada. On this subject Penn addressed a letter to the Council of New York on the 17th of 3d month, 1701, in which he gives expression to the following sentiments:

"Some of our Indians on Delaware and Susquehanna are apprehensive of ill designs against them from some of the Five Nations, who have always been in alliance with the government of New York, and entered last fall into a more solemn league with the deceased Lord Bellomont than ever. There is great reason at this junction to support the attempts of the French to debauch those warlike Nations from their fidelity to the Crown of England, and therefore will require the greater care to eye them. I have sent messengers to inquire fully into the occasion of this and on their return shall inform you further.

"It is now to be wished we could oblige all the Indians that live amongst or in amity with us, to submit their differences to the respective Governments they live under, that by their authority they might be ended and not by military attempts of their own. It is what I have inculcated and hope not without success among those under my Government. While it is otherwise it is to be feared they will be made use of by our Enemies in fomenting animosities amongst them, till I know further I shall hope for the best."

Meetings of the Council were held by the Governor in Philadelphia on the 19th and 31st of this month. At the former meeting a petition was read from Robert Guard and his wife, stating that a certain strange woman had lately arrived in this town, who was taken with a very sudden illness in their presence on the 17th instant, and several pins taken out of her breast. John

Richards, a butcher, and his wife Ann charged the petitioners with witchcraft, and as being the authors of the mischief, and therefore they desire their accusers may be sent for in order either to prove the charge or that they might be acquitted, they in consequence suffering much in their reputation, and through that means also in their trade. The said John and Ann Richards being sent for and appearing, the matter was inquired into, and being found trifling was dismissed. This was the second charge or trial for witchcraft brought before Penn and his Council. The first was tried the 27th of 12th month, 1683, in which Swedes were chiefly concerned; an account of which is given in Chapter XIII. In the present case the parties appear to be all of English extraction. From the complaint of having suffered by it in reputation and trade would denote a pretty widespread belief in it, much more so than one would have otherwise supposed. Such incidents are calculated to show the frailties of poor human nature with the changes to which they are occasionally subject.

Witchcraft was made a crime in England in the reign of Elizabeth in 1562, and the laws against it were not formally repealed until 1736. However, it may not be generally known that the law of Pennsylvania actually recognized its existence. In confimation we take the following extract from an "Act for the Advancement of Justice," passed May 31, 1718: "And be it further enacted by the authority

aforesaid, that another Statute, made in the first year of the Reign of King James the First, Chapter 12, instituted An Act against Conjuration, Witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked spirits, shall be duly put in Execution in this Province, and of like Force and Effect as if the same were here repeated and enacted."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PENN'S JOURNEY TO THE SUSQUEHANNA.—VISITS MARYLAND, MERION AND GWYNEDD.—RETIRES TO PENNSBURY.

[*June, 1701.*]

DURING 4th month or June, in relation to Penn several important occurrences transpired of which we regret to have so few particulars. This was his favorite month for travel or journeys into the interior, the weather then being mild, and the roads good without the intense heats and draughts, besides the annoyances from insects that prevail later in the summer. Meetings with the Council were held in Philadelphia on the 2d and after that not till the 26th and 27th.

Affairs with France at this time looked troublesome, but war was not declared by England with that power till nearly a year afterwards. Still alarms were occasionally created on the subject as well as about the Pirates. The Governor in a letter dated the 4th of 4th month to Governor Nanfan, remarks, "I herewith send a Proclamation, I hope it pleases though the old one that accompanies it is very particular on these heads.

Our alarm about a foreign ship in our Bay though banished, has given us some trouble, or I had been larger on the King's letter which upon my return from Maryland I purpose to do, having communicated it to whom it concerns, but we are so poor, that there is not one sous or penny in purse above daily expenses."

Soon after, the Governor must have set out on a journey into the interior of the Province. Isaac Norris in a letter dated Philadelphia, 21st of 4th month, 1701, to Daniel Zachary thus alludes to it: "I am just came home from Susquehanna, where I have been to meet the Governor; we had a roundabout journey, having pretty well traversed the wilderness. We lived nobly at the King's palace in Conestogoa, and from thence crossed it to Scoolkill, where we fell in about thirty miles up from hence."

It was on this occasion, as tradition states, that Penn got lost among the woods on the hill on the northern or Chester county side, near the present Valley Forge, and that he did not know where he was till he got on the hill this side of Valley Creek, when by a glimpse of the Schuylkill and the country to the southward he regained his way, and in consequence, named the former hill Mount Misery, and the latter Mount Joy, which names they respectively bear to this day.

Besides seeing more of the country at this lovely time of the year, it is probable that the Proprietary's principal object was to win over the Indians more to the English interests, on account of the approaching

trouble with the French. It is likely that he alludes to this in his letter to the Board of Trade and Plantations, dated from Pennsbury on the 2d of the following (5th) month. "I have had," he says, "divers meetings with the several Nations of Indians of these parts as the Shaweno, Susquehanna, Schuylkill and Delaware Indians, by arguments and many presents to persuade their submission to the Government, and not to war one with another and other Indians under Governments that are under the Crown of England, but rather that they would refer their differences to the respective Governments they live under. At last they have agreed to war no more upon Indians in the neighboring Governments nor any where else under the Crown of England, but to refer to me and the Government of those Indians with whom they may have differences the decision and issue of any such differences, of which I have written to the Commander-in-chief of New York, who answers me he will endeavor it in his present conference with the Five Nations at Albany."

This journey of Penn's to the Susquehanna we observe has led to some error. Janney mentions it (2d ed. p. 435) as having taken place in the spring. An article appeared in the Lancaster Inquirer of Feb. 24, 1872, in which mention is made of a monument having been erected and dedicated the previous 22d at the Gap in Salisbury township, said county, on the roof of a frame building over a fine spring of water, "where it

is said Penn met the Indians and held a Council wit them." It is composed of a square wooden sha neatly painted and lettered. On the west side is er scribed, "In memory of William Penn who visited thi place in the year 1700." Mention is made that it wa chiefly erected "through the exertions of Isaac Walke owner of said spring and building, who was led to i by his researches on the subject." It is probable tha Penn may have met the Indians in council there, bu this visit must have been made in June, 1701. Th mistake consists in setting the time to one of the deed from the Indians for lands which were nearly alway executed in Philadelphia.

It must also have been about this time that the Gov ernor made his visit to Maryland, which he contem plated in his letter of the 4th instant. John Richard son, a Friend from England, who arrived in the Patux ent, Maryland, the 6th of 1st month, 1701, and re mained in this country till the 6th of 9th month of th following year. In the account of his life (Friend Library, vol. VI., p. 99), we can find the only additiona information respecting this journey, and which is quit interesting, only regretting that he gave so little atter tion to dates.

"I had many comfortable meetings," he says, "i my travels through these provinces, and good servic We were at a Yearly Meeting at Tredhaven in Mary land, upon the Eastern shore, to which meeting fc worship came William Penn, Lord Baltimore and h

lady, with their retinue, but it was late when they came, and the strength and glory of the heavenly power of the Lord was going off from the meeting. The lady was much disappointed, as I understood by William Penn, for she told him she did not want to hear him, and such as he, for he was a scholar and a wise man, and she did not question but he could preach; but she wanted to hear some of our mechanics preach, as husbandmen, shoemakers, and such like rustics; for she thought they could not preach to any purpose. William Penn told her, some of these were rather the best preachers we had amongst us; or nearly these words. I was a little in their company, and I thought the lady to be a notable wife, and withal a courteously carriaged woman."

Robert Sutcliff states in his travels (p. 108), that on the 10th of 10th month, 1805, he went to Radnor Monthly Meeting and from thence to Owen Jones's, Jr., where he spent the evening, and who was one of the Friends "who suffered banishment on account of their supposed attachment to the British, during the Revolution. His sister told me that on William Penn's arrival in America, he lodged at her great grandfather's at Merion. At that time her grandfather was a boy of about twelve years old; and being a lad of some curiosity, and not often seeing such a guest as Wm. Penn, he privately crept to the chamber door, up a flight of steps, on the outside of the building, which

was only a log-house. On peeping through the latchet-hole, he was struck with awe, in beholding this great man upon his knees, by the bed-side; and could distinctly hear him in prayer and thanksgiving, that he was thus provided for in the wilderness. This circumstance made an impression upon the lad's mind, which was not effaced in old age."

The Friends in Gwynedd having become sufficiently numerous in 1700, erected a small log building for worship in the centre of the township, and at the site of the present meeting-house. There is a tradition that the Proprietary, accompanied by his daughter Letitia and a servant, came out on horseback to visit the settlement not long after its erection, and that he preached in it. Staying on this occasion over night at the house of his friend Thomas Evans, the first settler, who resided near by. As he returned to England in the beginning of November it may be that this excursion occurred about this pleasant time. The distance from Philadelphia being about nineteen miles.

After his several journeys and the warm weather now coming on, we find him retired again to his beloved home and country seat, where we know that he chiefly remained for the following three months. Under date of Pennsbury 30th of 4th month, 1701, the Governor writes to his Secretary, Logan, in Philadelphia, "I forgot a material point—the last Indian instrument from the Conestogo Indians—which I must have, or a copy, before I can answer Col. Blackiston's letter;

a false story firing two or three of their foolish people of our inviting the Piscataways from Maryland, instead of their seeking us: but Governor Blackiston would not believe it. Fail not, therefore, to send it to Samuel Jennings for me with speed, who will be with me; or send it by Governor Hamilton, who dines with me on Fourth-day. Also thy sentiments by Judge Guest who comes up to-morrow to Burlington, in order to be here with Gov. Hamilton, by whom thou mayest send the deed directly. Get us a third of a good pipe of Madeira for our own use. We are through Mercy well."

His wife at the same time adds by way of postscript, "Send up the parlor bell, three or four stock locks, three or four pounds of nails, from four to ten penny." We see by this that the Governor was friendly and hospitably inclined, and that he had frequently distinguished guests at his house, whom he desired to entertain as became his station.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PENN'S ADVICE SOUGHT IN TREATING WITH THE INDIANS. —ATTENDS FALLS MEETING.—HAS A LONG ACCOUNT PENDING WITH THOMAS FAIRMAN.

[*July, 1701.*]

As the Governor remained so closely at Pennsbury during the months of July, August and September that we shall omit the mention of his place of residence during this time only when absent, and which as we shall find by his correspondence or otherwise was but seldom.

On the 2d of 5th month, 1701, he addressed a letter to Gov. Nanfan, of New York, respecting the best means to preserve peace with the Indians, and how to secure their influence from the designs of the French. It would appear from the success he had already acquired in his own Province on this matter, his opinions were sought not only by the respective Governments here, but at home, and from the profound attention paid to his views it is very probable that he exerted a much greater influence than has been supposed, as his correspondence on this subject alone is

pretty extensive, of which very little has heretofore been published.

"Had I known it earlier," he writes to Nanfan, "of thy journey to Albany I should have prayed leave to have made one of thy retenue. It is of great importance that the Five Nations and all other Indians in the dominion of the crown of England were one people and depended on each respective Government they were under, than that they were a confederacy of themselves for that might teach them to be more formidable to us than they are to the common enemy. I must take the freedom to press this thought for the King's service at this juncture, for I am not more of a better opinion and I find the Sachemas of our Indians (that I am told make at least one thousand fighting men) take it well and resolve to quiet their war with the Carolina Indians and refer themselves to me upon all differences with the Indians in the Government under the Crown of England.

"Pardon this repetition I am contented to leave the honour of it to thy negotiation with the Five Nations and hope to hear a good effect thereof at thy return. I have been very large to the several Nations that live within this Government by presents and entertainments, and hope that if the Indians be set or rather kept so we shall be all safe on that hand. I also offer to thy consideration, if it is not fit to be an article of agreement, that all former agreements and gifts and grants of lands made by them should be ratified and

continued, and that all the subjects of the Crown of England may freely and securely plant in any of their territories, so as to have the allowance of the Government under which they live so to do. I must beg thy excuse if I look busy I take this to be the time to fasten such points as well as that of being friends at large."

On the 9th of this (5th) month John Routledge, yeoman of Falls township, Bucks county, was married to Margaret Dalton of said neighborhood. They "appeared in a publick and solemn assembly of ye aforesaid people met together for yt end and purpose at their usuall meeting house in ye Falls township aforesd." The following were present and signed their names as witnesses to the certificate: William Penn, Hannah Penn, Edward Shippen, Thos. Chalkley, Thos. Story, Wm. Biles, Jno. Richardson, Phineas Pemberton, Thos. Bartlett, Richd. Hough, Wm. Beaks, Saml. Burges, Nichos. Fairlame, Stephen Willson, Saml. Goldy, Wm. Fishbourne, Wm. Routledge, Jane Biles, Elizth. Brock, Esther Yardley, Ann Ellot, Sarah Sirket, Phebe Baker, Margery Hough, Rachel Bunting, Mary Hough, Mary Wildman, Sarah Clements and Rebeckah Shippen. Edward Shippen, Rebeckah Shippen, Thomas Story, and Wm. Fishbourne were from Philadelphia, and probably with Thomas Chalkley and John Richardson at this time visitors at Pennsbury, and in attending worship here thus happened to be present.

Respecting this affair, John Richardson in his Life remarks, "I was at William Penn's country house called Pennsbury, in Pennsylvania, where I staid two or three days, on one of those days I was at a meeting and a marriage." Concerning John Routledge we find a few additional particulars in the records of Falls and of Middletown Monthly Meetings. Thomas, his eldest son, was born in 1702, Rachel in 1703, Elizabeth in 1705, Sarah in 1713, and Isabel in 1717. In this latter year he removed to Middletown township where he died the 23d of 5th month, 1725, and was buried in Friends' burying ground there, now within the limits of the present borough of Langhorne. He was a minister amongst Friends.

The Governor attended a meeting of the Council in Philadelphia, on the 14th, on which occasion it was "Ordered that a Proclamation immediately issue for calling the members of the present General Assembly to meet at Philadelphia, the first day of August next, to inspect into several affairs of moment, etc. Adjourned till the 23d instant, at 9 in the morning." Owing to ill health and an increased pain in his leg, was not able to be in town till the 26th, when another meeting of the Council was held.

On the 14th he wrote to Logan, "I have wanted thee for a proclamation for the sitting of the Assembly, at the time to consider of the King's letters, as well as divers other things of moment—N. Puckle going so soon, with whom I would have sent something,—

tobacco, twenty hogsheads or forty, if I could have called out so many good ones of bright tobacco. In short, pray despatch and be here by this day or to-morrow week. Judge Guest is this day admitted to the Council. Governor Hamilton in town: nothing yet done conclusive, nor shall till the Assembly is over. Thomas Fairman comes with this to clear himself, and to do what he can in reason for my service." Penn has reference here to a communication sent him by Fairman, in reply to some charges that had been made against him in his capacity of deputy to the Surveyor General. The whole may be seen in the Penn and Logan correspondence (vol. I, p. 49), from which we give the following interesting extracts:

"Governor:—Enclosed is what I promised for the first part, considering I have above six thousand acres of land of my own yet to take up, and much more for my friends. The Proprietor may confide in my having ever without reward preferred his interest, and dare challenge the whole country to manifest the contrary. I confess I have took it a little hardly that strangers less capable have been preferred to offices of profit, and myself overlooked.

"I can say, since I came from England, I have never had in all the value of forty shillings for any surveys or other business done whatsoever, and I am sure the account of my house and expense stands above one hundred and forty pounds since my arrival, besides what my plantation hath brought in; and I

will never survey for one-half, and were I surveyor-general myself, I should be charged with oppression to allow my deputy less than two-thirds of the survey wages. There wants but a word from my mouth and he would hardly find a deputy in the province; beside my circumstances are not as theirs; my knowledge in the three counties exceeding; besides, above sixteen years ago, at my own charge for hands, horses and provisions.

"I laid out many manors for the Proprietor, and never had a penny consideration; and also, besides all that the Proprietor may remember how I have been as his boy, to show this and that man, such and the other piece of land, riding my own horse and sometimes two,—one for the person to be showed. But this is all passed. I mention it to show the difference and much more I could say, of my service at Governor Markham's first arrival, and my unprofitable travels with Thomas Holme, beside my business, who at last died my debtor as per account one hundred and forty-seven pounds, of which I never had a penny."

If the aforesaid is correct, which we believe has nowhere been questioned, Fairman had as good grounds for complaint in not being compensated as any other person. Penn must have been dilatory both in his payments and settlements to have let matters go on so long, extending back now for almost nineteen years, and through the pressure of his other debts was none the better enabled to discharge, and near

too when he was about making preparations to return to England. Fairman therein intimates the appointment of another Surveyor-General after the death of Captain Holme in 1695, most probably meaning Edward Penington which he thinks should have been more properly filled by himself, owing both to his experience and long position as deputy. James Logan, it seems, bore him no good will, for in a letter on this matter to the Proprietary says, "I have not yet discovered Thomas Fairman about those great tracts of land. Thou fully knows my opinion of the man, and time does not alter it. This letter, perhaps may be of service to thee, but there is no dependence upon him."

In regard to the aforesaid, Penn further remarks on the 30th, "I have thine by Thomas Fairman. I can only say that I will be certain in my own right, and that he shall. I intend him the island under some moderate conditions, as mowing for my own use, and having some hogs on it with him, till it be drained or improved, of which more when in town, so that I am content to oblige him; but remember that I ask thee a question about the letter he writ thee when I come to town." The island here alluded to most probably was the one in the Delaware close to Pennsbury. Fairman assisted Thomas Holme in laying out the city of Philadelphia. He died in 1714.

On the 17th the Governor wrote to Logan, "The Master is come, and wants twenty tons of flour and bread, and I want thee. Things happen cross at this

juncture by thy absence, we see. All, through mercy, well, only my broken shin. If thou wast here, poor Tishe might have one bill home for Charles Read's pay, he or his money supplying with some of the flour now needed." He here has reference to his daughter Letitia's yearnings for returning to England of which we shall learn more in a few months. Perhaps the pains of his leg were increased by his exertions and arduous journeys the previous month on horseback mentioned in the last chapter.

"I was," he writes on the 23d, "for trying yesterday to have come to town, but was feverish, and a cold upon me, besides an ill shin. To-day my cold is worse than yesterday, and have had a restless, feverish night, so I am doubtful I shall not come this afternoon; and if so, intend a good sweat to-night, and tomorrow by land or water to undertake my journey. My daughter was ill yesterday with fever and cold, but has had a good night, and is better. John should return as soon as he well can." The 23d had been designated for him to meet the Council in Philadelphia, in consequence adjourned there to the 26th when he was present.

Some time this year Edward Hunloke, who had been deputy Governor of West New Jersey several years previous, wrote to the Governor from Burlington: "Honored Sir, Seth Hill's Negro brought me fifty bottles to be filled with my best wine I have accordingly done it, viz: eight gallons and a quarter of the

paler sort, and three gallons of the richer. I hope it will prove to satisfaction. The boatman saw the packing of them, and gave him strict charge to be very careful. He waiting for this note. I have nothing further to add but that I am your Honor's most humble servant." During his residence at Pennsbury, as may be observed by his correspondence, the Governor was in the frequent practice of receiving supplies from Burlington.

CHAPTER XXX.

EFFORTS MADE IN PARLIAMENT TO DEPRIVE PENN OF HIS COLONY.—POLITICAL KNAVERY NO NEW THING.—WRITES NUMEROUS LETTERS IN DEFENCE OF HIMSELF AND GOVERNMENT.

[*August, 1701.*]

DURING August or 6th month, the Governor held meetings with the Council in Philadelphia on the 1st, 2d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 22d and 23d. On the 22d he communicated to the Board advices he had received yesterday from England by the ship *Messenger*, giving an account of the great and strenuous endeavors, used by several combined interests, to procure an act of Parliament for annexing to the Crown the several Proprietary Governments, to effect which, at the date of his letters, there was a bill before the House of Lords which had been twice read, and though not likely to pass this session, yet there was no probability of staving it off longer than the next, unless the Proprietary could personally be there to make his defence, and obviate the arguments brought against this Government by evil minded persons, who were bent on

overthrowing the same. Therefore the Governor proposed to the consideration of the Board, what might be the most effectual methods to secure the general interest of the first adventurers in founding the colony, were in a great measure struck at by the said endeavors. Whereupon it was resolved, that the first step that could be taken would be to call an Assembly with all expedition, writs for this purpose to be forthwith issued, for calling a new Assembly, to sit on the 15th day of the 7th month ensuing.

Here was now a great and new trouble, involving much additional expense on the Proprietary to remain secure in his rights, besides requiring his attendance in London to rebut the several charges made against him and his Government. Politicians even in those days were also selfish and had their deep laid plots and plans, by which they alone expected to be benefitted, not caring beyond this for either rights, justice or principles. But at the same time if we carefully proceed in this work we cannot fail to see the continual evils arising from the colonial system; the home Government being so jealous and exacting, and their growth under the circumstances must continue to make them more so. The very nature of a representative Assembly, elected too by the people, could not fail but help extend the principles that must eventually aspire to freedom and independence; between the two the Proprietary could be little more than a figure head. The thoughts of Penn no doubt often dwelt on this very subject

amidst his numerous trials and vexations, as may be occasionally observed in his writings.. Take, for instance, his plan for the Union of the Colonies, and also his suggestions respecting the Plantations, even intimations of this kind may also be found in several of his letters.

It appears that the Governor at this time was very anxious to have his papers sent to England. In his letter to Logan on the 13th says, "Remember that in two of my letters to the Lords of Trade, I promised the Laws by the first ship that goes hence; so that I shall be under a necessity of sending some, and, indeed excepting those that alienate my fines, and that of property as it stands, the generality may go as they are; for this I must stop Nathaniel Puckle if it be for a week. Pray get them transcribed by good hands with all speed. I send John Saunders to be helpful, and I desire cousin Asheton to assist. It is thy business, for it was Patrick Robinson's, and he did it. I purpose to be in town Seventh or Second day, according as I hear of N. Puckle." This last mentioned person was the captain of a vessel called the *Bristol Trader*.

Soon after Penn had commenced the improvements on his Pennsbury estate, he had also an orchard of fruit set out of the best English varieties. These trees must have now attained some size and yielded well if we are to judge by his preparations. On the 13th he wrote to his Secretary, "Forget not to provide some

larger vessels for the keeping of cider than barrels. Four barrels and four hogsheads will do, and if no hogsheads, then two pipes, one at least." A few days later writes again to "send us up for cider what barrels thou canst get in town, by the very first opportunity. I mean such as are sweet, and have had cider in them —they will be cheapest; also an empty pipe or two to put the mash of the apples in, being sawn asunder. I think we will send in a day or two for the casks. S. Holt may help us to them cheaper." For that section of Pennsylvania the making of cider in the middle of August appears to be soon, they must have either consisted generally of early varieties or else that the seasons were then earlier in maturing fruit, which may also have been the case. John Oldmixon, who visited Pennsbury before 1708, speaks of the orchards there producing "excellent pearmains and pippins."

We now come to where Penn in his several letters expresses his views on the efforts being made before Parliament to abolish the Proprietary system and annexing the several Provinces to the Crown. These remarks are interesting and show the great expense and sacrifices he had made in the establishing of his colony. To Charles Lawton, I believe a member of Parliament, he writes on the 18th from Philadelphia.

"I wish myself twenty years younger and no Englishman, and I would hope to enjoy the fruit of my labour and receive the return of my deep and

sinking expenses. For instead of proscribing me it pays not the debt that the Crown owed my Father but involves me in £20,000 Sterling to bring it to the pass it is in, which the loss of the Government defeats me of in the means and hopes of being reimbursed. I have spent I am sure more money on the country, government and the defence of it since I had it against such knaves as now attempt its ruin and mine. This it is that makes my case singular and deserving of singular notice and distinction from common Proprietaries or incorporated bodies though the attempt is unjust upon them all."

In defence of himself on this important matter he wrote letters on the 25th to the Duke of Devonshire and Marquis of Normandy; on the 26th to the Duke of Somerset, Lord Jeffrey and Lord Pawlett, and on the 27th to the Earl of Dorset. To the latter he says, "Powers are properly in this case our encouragement in seeking our repose in a wilderness three thousand miles from home where I never thought any could envy our enjoyments of them, the soil and savage mere creation and as such we purchase it of the natives. But it is our hands and purses that have improved it to an English sort of property, and it shall be an favour to have a proviso for this? Who ever made colonies at this rate? I took it for a great debt and meritorious, which cost me almost as much to solicit it, and though I could have bought it for £1200 I took it in lieu of

all further hopes of £20,000 which my demands came to or very near it in 1681, and about which I gave thee many a troublesome visit. If I shall have time to lay out just as much again and to be deprived of it when it should make me amends, what severe usage among men?"

The aforesaid letters are generally lengthy, wherein he displays his remarkable powers as a ready writer to which we have several times before alluded. We are not aware that any of the aforesaid letters have been published, or that any extracts have been heretofore given, or reference made to them by any writers.

CHAPTER XXXI.

REMARKABLE INDUSTRY OF THE GOVERNOR.—ILLNESS OF PHINEAS PEMBERTON.—INTERESTING ADDRESS TO THE ASSEMBLY.—NOTICE OF JOSEPH GROWDON.

[*September, 1701.*]

WITH his usual industry the Proprietary continued writing more letters for England in justification of his course and to thwart the designs of his adversaries. "I have heard," he states to the Earl of Romney on the 6th of this (7th) month, "of the very unfair treatment some have given me in my absence, which I am apt to think one word from the King if I could deserve it would alter. I was thus attacked in King James' time, and when he came to know the ruin it would prove to me, he cried out God forbid, he would never be the author of such cruelty. To be treated like a transgressor is to observe no measure to merit or innocency, at least here I am come to rectify things. I have had an expensive and hazardous voyage done it and now I must be turned out as a delinquent. God help us!"

On the same day he wrote to Logan and directs him to "prepare duplicates to go by Edward Shippen's ship, of what went last. I have written to Lord Romney, and send it now to be copied. I think to be in town Fourth or Fifth day."

To his Secretary he addressed a long and interesting letter on the 8th, which contains considerable information, revealing his anxieties and the embarrassments attending his present situation and circumstances. "The necessity of my going," he says, "makes it absolutely necessary for me to have a supply, and though I think a £1,000 should be forthwith raised, by Friends at least, to help me, yet, while land is high and valuable, I am willing to dispose of many good patches that else I should have chosen to have kept as everybody's money. To set about this, I desire T. Fairman, and C. P.* to come to me hither. I have opened my mind therein to them, and they have assured me that they will forthwith, a week being now more than six months another season. They will communicate to thee all they know and remember, and endeavor to find out what customers they can, and acquaint thee of the value to set on the premises, in order to immediate supplies. The present Welsh from England are divers of them rich, and will want quantities, and T. Fairman undertakes to accommodate them handsomely. Lose not the opportunity.

"Joseph Growdon, and J. Swift, who had the first

* Very probably Caleb Pusey.

choice, and would not serve without J. Growdon, but against them all, of one hundred freeholders, there were not thirty-one present—an ill precedent for elections, and which I could regret, for many here are troubled at it, and have declared themselves to me. I think to stay over their court, which will be next Fourth day. Poor Phineas is a dying man, and was not at the election, though he crept, as I may say, to meeting yesterday. I am grieved at it, for he has not his fellow, and without him, this is a poor country indeed.

"I cannot prevail on my wife, and still less with Tishe. I know not what to do. Samuel Carpenter seems to excuse her in it; but, to all that speak of it, say I shall have no need to stay, and a great interest to return. All that I have to dispose of in this world is here, for daughter and son, and all the issue which this wife is like to bring me, and that having no more gains by government to trust to for bread, I must come to sell, pay debts, and live, and lay up for this posterity, as well as that they may see that my inclinations run strongly to a country and proprietary life, which then I shall be at liberty to follow, together with her promise to return whenever I am ready. I confess this is one of the greatest arguments for some Friends of note going with us—to bring us back again; else they can do but little there, and their expense may better help me. We want a little good Madeira wine, and some of the last white wine, if thou canst hit upon it. I am

troubled at Judge Guest's heat to Samuel Carpenter—in a Judge it is scandalous. Try to cool him. His being indiscreet, is his great fault. Fifth or Sixth day, expect me."

We see by the aforesaid that he was at this time greatly in want of money, and that he was willing to resort to some sacrifice to procure it. We need not wonder at this when we consider the necessities he was under for the discharge of his debts and the preparations attending his return. Respecting Joseph Growdon and John Swift, he has reference to the Bucks county election. He was desirous to have his wife and daughter remain on his voyage, but he confesses that he could not prevail on them to do so, and of the two, the latter appears to have been the most desirous of returning.

A second letter was sent the same day from Pennsbury, in which he says, "I intend to go in the *Messenger*, and as soon as may be after the Assembly is up. Samuel Carpenter, Isaac Norris, Caleb Pusey, and Samuel Jennings talked about going with me. Will it not devour what they should allow me, and signify nothing on the other side. Let John bring up my hair-trunk, my leather stockings, twelve bottles of Madeira wine, and as many of the new white wine, or six apiece. A runnel of ale from Philadelphia or Burlington should be brought us: we make our own small beer. I think to be in town Fifth or Sixth day. Phineas is very weak, more like to go than remain.

Tell R. Janney the young man can neither plow nor mow, but has been mostly used to driving, is ready and good-natured, but swears." Swearing, it would seem, was a common fault even then, and objectionable to the Governor.

Phineas Pemberton is the person referred to as being so infirm and who survived till the 1st of 1st month, 1702, when he died at the age of upwards of fifty-two years. He was a useful and highly-esteemed man in the colony, and is deserving of some additional notice. He had been a grocer at Bolton, Lancashire, and was married to Phebe, the daughter of James Harrison, whose family, and father Ralph Pemberton accompanied him here in 11th month, 1682. About a year afterwards he purchased a tract of three hundred acres in Falls township, near the manor of Pennsbury, on which he settled. In 1687 he erected on it a frame house, and had cut in relief on the oak lintel of the door the letters "P. P. P., 7d. 2 m. 1687," which has been duly preserved, and presented in 1876 to the Historical Society, where it may be now seen. He enjoyed a number of offices, and like his father-in-law, seems to have ever retained the confidence of the Proprietary. He was buried in the family burying ground on the banks of the Delaware, about a mile below the present borough of Morrisville, where a stone denotes the grave. In regard to his death, Samuel Carpenter, the eminent merchant of Philadelphia, wrote to Penn, that he "will be greatly missed;

having left few or none in those parts, or the adjacent, like him for wisdom and integrity, and a general service; and he was a true friend to thee and the Government. It is a matter of sorrow, when I call to mind and consider that the best of our men are taken away,—and how many are gone, and how few to supply their places." His descendants are numerous, and have been in Philadelphia a noted family.

Meetings with the Council were held in Philadelphia by the Governor on the 3d, 15th, 16th, 17th, 20th, 23d, 26th, 29th and 30th. On the whole, when we come to consider his labors for this month (Sept.), there is no cause for surprise at the astonishing amount of industry he has exhibited in accomplishing what he did, and that too amidst the most annoying anxieties and embarrassments to which the human frame can be subject, and wonder almost how, under the circumstances, he could have borne up so well. He certainly could not have been of a melancholy or desponding temperament, for we see no evidences of despair or that he sought such companionship.

At the meeting of the Assembly on the 15th the Governor made to them a speech from which we extract the leading points:

"The reasons that hasten your session is the necessity I am under, through the endeavors of the enemies of the prosperity of this country, to go for England, where taking the advantage of my absence, some have attempted by false or unreasonable charges to under-

mine our Government, and thereby the true value of our labors and property. Government having been our first encouragement. I confess I cannot think of such a voyage without great reluctancy that I might stay so long at least with you as to render everybody entirely easy and safe; for my heart is among you as well as my body. Whatever some people may please to think, and no unkindness or disappointment shall, with submission to God's providence, ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return and settle my family and posterity in it. But having reason to believe I can at this time best serve you and myself on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the season nor tender circumstances of my family can over rule my inclination to undertake it.

"Review again our Laws, propose new ones that may better your circumstances, and what you do, do it quickly, remembering that the Parliament sits the end of next month, and that the sooner I am there the safer. I hope we shall all be here. I must recommend to your serious thoughts and care the King's Letter to me, for your assistance of New York with £350 Sterling, as a frontier Government and therefore exposed to a much greater expense in proportion to other Colonies; which I called the last Assembly to take into their consideration, and they were pleased, for the reasons then given, to refer to this.

"I am also to tell you the good news of the Governor of New York's happy issue of his conference

with the Five Nations of Indians, that he hath not only made peace with you for the King's subjects of that Colony, but as I had by some letters before desired him, for those of all other governments under the Crown of England on the continent of America, as also the natives of Indians within those respective Colonies, which certainly merits our acknowledgements. I have done when I have told you that unanimity and despatch are the life of business, and that I desire and expect it from you for your own sakes, since it may so much contribute to the disappointment of those that too long have taught the ruin of your young country."

On the following day, while the Governor was in session with the Council, two members of the Assembly acquainted him that they requested to be admitted to his presence, to which he agreed, when the several members accordingly appeared and the Speaker, in the name of the House, presented the following address:

"May it please the Proprietary and Governor,

"We have this day, in our Assembly, read thy speech yesterday delivered in Council, and having duly considered the same, cannot but be under a deep sense of sorrow for thy purpose of so speedily leaving us, and at the same time taking notice of thy paternal regards of us and our posterity, the freeholders of this Province and Territories annexed, in thy loving and kind expressions of being ready to comply with whatsoever expedient and provision we shall offer for our safety, as well in privileges as property, and what else may ren-

der us happy in a nearer union of our interests, not doubting the performance of what thou hast been pleased so lovingly to promise, do in much humility, and as a token of our gratitude render unto thee the unfeigned thanks of the House.

"Subscribed by order of the House, Joseph Growdon, Speaker."

To which the Governor made answer: "That every word of his speech was written in his heart, and he should use his utmost endeavors to make it all good, to which he desired their assistance, and that they would proceed, in order to it, with all expedition."

On the 20th, he wrote to Col. Depeister of New York, "I have another grant to show them, and if not an account of disbursements in defence of the King's title against Lord Baltimore as well as that I am not in full possession till the Line be run which from time to time I have prest at home and here upon him and his agents. For an answer I will wait upon them God willing in England within three or four months, and I presume to their satisfaction."

On the same day the Assembly presented an address to the Governor concerning property, which was signed by Joseph Growdon as Speaker. To which he replied at some length, but contains nothing of particular importance. It may be seen in full in the Appendix (vol. II, pp. 40–4) of Proud's History.

Isaac Norris addressed a letter from Philadelphia on

the 26th to his friend Daniel Zachary of Boston, in which he states, "Our Assembly still sits; and my time almost taken up, that I am quite weary of state affairs. Judge Guest is made our chief judge, upon which Judge Growdon would not act as his inferior." Joseph Growdon was a man of distinguished attainments, and resided in Bensalem, Bucks county. He was the owner of nearly half of said township, and of whom Gabriel Thomas in 1696, states that he "hath a very noble and fine house, very pleasantly situated, and likewise a famous orchard, wherein are contained above a thousand apple trees." Oldmixon in 1708, pays him the compliment of having been "very instrumental in planting and settling this county, for which, and many others things, it is very much indebted to his care and services." He was a Friend and came from Cornwall, and settled here about 1683. He appears to have been a man of an independent turn of mind, and after the aforesaid appointment was made exhibited a coldness towards the Proprietary. He died in 1730, leaving three children, Joseph, Lawrence and Hannah.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ASSEMBLY NOT HARMONIOUS.—A DELEGATION OF INDIANS COME TO BID THE GOVERNOR FAREWELL.—MARRIAGE IN THE OLDEN TIME, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF JOHN SOTCHER.—THE GERMAN PURCHASE.

[*October 1–17, 1701.*]

THE Assembly, which had been called by the Proprietary on the 15th of 7th month, still continued in session, whose proceedings were anything but harmonious, and respecting whom Isaac Norris, in a letter to Daniel Zachary, dated the 3d of the present (8th) month, writes, "Our Assembly still sits, and little done. They are now worse than ever, believing themselves sure of the government change. Their endeavors, I mean the lower county members and our malcontents here, to leave us, if possible, without laws or liberties—oppose anything that we offer for our settlement. Our Governor is much grieved at this parting carriage of the people. I know not how things will end, but at present they have a very ill usage."

Meetings with the Council were held in Philadelphia

by the Governor on the 6th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 14th and 15th of October. On the afternoon of the 7th, the Sachems of the Susquehanna and Shawanese Indians, with several others, came to the Council to take leave of the Proprietary before his departure for England.

He informed them that this now was like to be his last interview with them, at least before his return; that he had ever loved and been kind to them and ever should continue so to be,—not through any political design or interest, but one of real affection, and desired them in his absence to cultivate friendship with those he would leave behind in authority, as they would always, in some degree, continue to be to them as himself had ever been. The Governor also informed them that the Assembly was now enacting a law, according to their desire, to prevent their being abused by the selling of rum, with which Orettyagh, one of the Sachems, in the name of the rest, expressed a great satisfaction, and desired that that law might effectually be put in execution, and not only discoursed of as formerly; for they had long suffered by the practice but now hoped for a redress, and that they should have reason to complain no more.

And for the more effectually answering so good a design, the Governor desired that whenever any transgressed the said law, and came contrary amongst them, to agreement they would forthwith take care to give information thereof to the Government, that the offen-

ders might be duly prosecuted; which they promised to observe, and that if any rum were brought they would not buy it, but send the person who brought it back with it again. Then the Governor informed them that he had charged the Members of Council, and then renewed the same charge, that they should in all respects be kind to them, and entertain them with all courtesy and demonstrations of good will as he himself had ever done, which the said members promised faithfully to observe; and making them some presents, they withdrew.

John Richardson, a travelling Friend from England, arrived in Maryland the 6th of 1st month, 1701, and remained in this country till the 6th of 9th month, 1702, when he sailed for Barbadoes and thence to the land of his nativity, where he died in 1753 in his 87th year. He wrote an account of his life and travels, published in "Friends' Library" (vol. IV., pp. 96, 7, for 1840, Phila.), from which we extract that portion that relates to the aforesaid meeting of the Governor and Council with the Indians, which by Watson in his Annals, and one or two other writers, has been erroneously stated to have taken place at Pennsbury.

"Much of the other part of the time I spent in seeing, to my satisfaction, William Penn and many of the Indians, not the least of them, in council concerning their former covenants, now again revived by his going away for England; all which was done in much calmness of temper, and in an amicable way. To pass by

several particulars, I may mention the following: They never first broke covenant with any people; for, as one of them said, smiting his hand upon his head three times, they did not make them there in their heads, but smiting his hand three times on his breast, said, they made them there in their hearts. When they had ended the most weighty parts for which they held their council, William Penn gave them match-coats and some other things; which the speaker for the Indians advised to be put into the hands of one of their Kings, for he knew best how to order them. I observed, and also heard the like from others, that they did not speak two at a time, nor interfere in the least one with another that way in their councils. Their eating and drinking was also in much stillness.

"After William Penn and they had expressed their satisfaction, both for themselves and their people, in keeping all their former articles inviolate, and agreed that if any differences happened amongst any of their people, they should not be an occasion of fomenting or creating any war between the people and the Indians, but justice should be done in all such cases, that all animosities might be prevented on all sides for ever. They went out of the house into an open place not far from it, to perform their worship, which was done thus: First, they made a small fire, and the men without the women sat down about it in a ring, and they sang a very melodious hymn, which affected and tendered the hearts of many who were

spectators. When they had thus done, they began to beat upon the ground with little sticks, or make some motion with something in their hands, and pause a little, till one of the elder sort sets forth his hymn, followed by the company for a few minutes, and then a pause; and the like was done by another, and so by a third, and followed by the company as at first; which seemed exceedingly to affect them and others. Having done, they rose up and danced a little about the fire, and parted with some shouting like rejoicing."

On the 10th the members of Assembly met in conference with the Governor. He embraced the occasion to let them know that he had further considered the bill against selling rum to the Indians, and desired that they would admit in it the evidence of the Indians, without which the design of the act would be eluded; and that though they were not under the same conscientious obligation as Christians are to speak the truth, yet they might be obliged to do it through the dread of some punishment to be inflicted in case of their giving false evidence. He also proposed to the Assembly to consider of some fit persons to be appointed by him to represent him in the Government during his absence. He informed them that he had written several months ago to his son, recommending for the King's approbation as deputy Governor, Col. Andrew Hamilton, the present Governor of East and West New Jersey.

It has been the fortune of the writer at various places to meet with original documents respecting John Sotcher and Mary Lofty, the steward and stewardess of Pennsbury, especially relating to their marriage, and as an olden time affair have concluded to be pretty full therein, thus showing better the changes that have since taken place, even among so staid a people as the Society of Friends. From letters addressed by Hannah Penn to her father, Thomas Callowhill, we know that this marriage, at least, had been in contemplation as early as in the previous summer, for on the 17th and 22d of 6th month she wrote respecting it, and desiring him to procure a certificate of Mary Lofty's clearness in relation to the matter from the Meeting she had belonged to in the city of Bristol. Which however was not granted till the 3d of 9th month following and forwarded the next day, when the marriage had been accomplished two weeks and a half. The result was in consequence a stricter inquiry than usual of both parties in this respect by the Meeting here. The affair being hurried on account of the Proprietary and his family leaving in a few weeks for England, and who desired to be present at its consummation.

From the minutes of Falls Monthly Meeting we learn that on the 4th of 7th month, 1701, John Sotcher made known his intentions of taking Mary Lofty for his wife, when Joseph Kirkbride and Sarah Sirket were appointed to examine as to their clearness

and report at the meeting. Penn was present at the latter and stated that he proposed to leave them in charge of Pennsbury, and as the season hurried his departure, he desired to see the marriage accomplished before his return. The Meeting adjourned one week, to give the committee further time to examine and report on the subject. At the Monthly Meeting held on the 8th of 8th month a favorable report was made, and at which also a recommendation was read from the Governor and his wife, when consent was given for the marriage. Phineas Pemberton, Joseph Kirkbride, Richard Hough and Samuel Dark were appointed to draw up the certificate.

From the minutes of Council we learn that "The Governor, having divers affairs to settle in his family at Pennsbury, went up thither on the 16th of October, and did not return till the 21st instant." As the marriage took place on the 16th at the Falls Meeting house, it is quite likely that Penn must have left Philadelphia quite early in the morning to have been there in time, unless it took place in the afternoon. Amongst the strangers present were Jennings, Logan, Langdale, Gove, Shippen and Warder. The following is a verbatim copy of the marriage certificate in which the name appears and is signed Satcher, though we have concluded to follow the common style, which was always thus spelled by Penn. It being a general fault in those days to spell names variously, as may be seen in several instances in this work, which is often perplexing to writers on this period.

"Whereas John Satcher of Pensberrie in ye County of Bucks and Province of Pencilvania, Cordwainer and Mary Loftis of ye same place, county and province, Spinster having intentions of taking each other in marryage did publish ye same before severale Publick meetings of ye people of God, called Quakers as also made Legale Publication thereof.

"Now These are to Certifie all whom it may concern that after deliberate Consideration and Consent of Parties Concerned and approbation of ye said meetings, upon ye sixteenth day of ye Eighth month Ano. Dom. One thousand Seven hundred & one they ye said John Satcher and Mary Loftis appeared in a public and solemn assembly of ye afforesaid people met together for that end and purpose at their usual meeting House in ye falls Township in ye aforesaid County and province, and then and there ye said John Satcher taking ye said Mary Loftis by ye hand did openly declare that he took ye said Mary to be his wife and also did promise to be unto her a faithful and loving husband untill death should separate them. And in like manner ye said Mary Loftis did then and there openly declare that she did take ye said John Satcher to be her husband and did likewise promise to be unto him a faithful and loving wife untill death shall separate them.

"Moreover ye said John Satcher and Mary Loftis (She according to ye custom of marryage assuming her husband's name) as a further confirmation thereof,

at ye aforesaid time and place to these presents set their hands and we whose names are here under Subscribed being pressent amongst others at ye solemnization & subscription of ye said marriage as witnesses thereunto have likewise set our hands ye day & year above Written.

JOHN SATCHER,
MARY SATCHER.

"Wm. Penn, Sol. Jennings, Phineas Pemberton, Joseph Kirkbride, Josiah Langdale, Rich'd Gove, Jos. Shippen, Solomon Warder, Wm. Macket, Richard Cook, Rich'd Hough, James Logan, Peter Worrall, Job Bunting, Wm. Biles, Jr., Saml. Burges, John Burges, Edw'd Kempe, Elliza. Brock, Sarah Sirket, Rebeckah Richardson, Abigail Pemberton, Ann Murray, Joan Humphrey, Hannah Penn, Lettitia Penn, Margery Hough, Mary Warder, Junr., Rachell Bunting, Phebe Baker."

We also give a copy of the certificate of clearness to which we have alluded as forwarded by Thomas Callowhill in a letter to his daughter, which was addressed, "William Penn, Esq. Proprietor & Governor of Pensilvania for H. P. Or if Absent for James Logan or Thomas Storie for M. L." The said initials standing for Hannah Penn and Mary Lofty. By absence is meant the departure of the Proprietary and his family for England, which by said letter it appears they expected. This certificate did not come to hand probably for two months after the marriage.

"To our Friends and Brethren in the Province of Pensylvania and whomsoever else it doth or may concern.

"Mary Loafty formerly of this City now of Pensylvania having signified unto us her inclination to join in Marriage there and requested a Certificate of her Clearness here whilst with us, she lived soberly and was of orderly conversation and upon due inquiry do not find but that she is free and clear from all parties here in relation to Marriage which we certify from our Men's Meeting in the City of Bristol this Third day of the Ninth month 1701. Signed in and on behalf of the Meeting by Richard Sneade, Thomas Callowhill, Charles Jones, Benja. Coole, Joshua Cart, Jeffr. Pennell, Arthur Thomas, Samuel Cox, Tho. Bayly, Waltr. Kippen, Alex. Arscott."

John and Mary Sotcher had four children, Hannah born 25th of 11th month, 1702, and married in 1720 to Joseph Kirkbride; Mary born in 1704, and married in 1724 to Mahlon Kirkbride; Robert born 3d of 9th month, 1706, and Ann born in 1710 and married in 1728 to Mark Watson. The late Anthony Burton, long President of the Farmer's Bank of Bristol, was a descendant.

In May, 1701, the Proprietary sent John Sotcher and Edward Farmer as agents to proceed to the Lehigh river and enquire into a disturbance that had occurred there amongst the Indians, and also as to their intentions. In 1722 he represented Bucks county in the

Assembly, and died the 19th of 11th month, 1729. When Penn had embarked on board the ship *Dolmahoy*, the 3d of November, 1701, in parting there with his Secretary James Logan, impressed him to "Remember J. Sotcher and Pennsbury;" meaning not to forget in his correspondence to inform him about them.

Respecting the aforesaid, Logan wrote sometime after 7th month, 1704, that "Though there were forty acres cleared at Pennsbury at thy going off, there was but little fit for immediate service. John Sotcher has now cleared, I suppose, forty acres since and it is resolved to make it pay for itself, though he has not hitherto been able to do it.—They misinform who say the place goes to ruin. John and Mary are as good servants as any in America, but will not stay upon it unless thou designs over quickly. She has two little children,—are healthy and not troublesome. The garden, it is true, is not cultivated; nor is there any reason it should in your absence. All or most of the parterres are dead by blasting."

At the close of Chapter XXVI., mention is made of several pamphlets having been printed in Germany in 1700 to encourage emigration to Pennsylvania. This was chiefly done under the auspices of the Frankfort Land Company, organized as early as 1682, who at various times thereafter took up large tracts to dispose of to their countrymen in smaller quantities, and thus induce them for their mutual benefit to settle together.

The agents of the company having made the requisite arrangements with the Proprietary for a later and more extensive purchase, who hereupon issued the following order:

"Whereas by my Warrant bearing date the 26th of 7th month, 1701, I required thee to lay out for the German Company of Purchasers 22025 acres of Land fronting the River Schuylkill the breadth of about 600 perches and whereas the said Germans have requested that I would further Grant that their said Front should extend downwards about 100 perches and terminating below a small Rocky run falling into the said River. These therefore are to require thee to make returns of the said Tract according to their request together with the Islands opposite to the said Front in the River Schuylkill, lying on the East side of the Channel, for which this shall be thy authority. Given under my Hand, 14th, 8 ber, 1701.

"WM. PENN.

"To Edward Penington, Surveyor General."

According to a Warrant from the hand and seal of the Proprietary, date 26th of 7th month, 1701, and also 14th of 8th month, 1701, Edward Penington, Surveyor General, certifies that he has surveyed to Daniel Falkner, agent for the German Company of Purchasers, in right of their former purchases made of the Proprietary and Governor, a tract in Philadelphia County, near the Mahanatawny creek on the Schuylkill, amounting to 22,377 acres; beginning at a marked

hickory, standing at the mouth of a small run about 120 perches distant from Mahanatawny creek, from thence by the several courses of the river Schuylkill, the several distances on the said several courses amounting to 1,288 perches to a marked corner tree standing by the side of a rocky run, falling into the said river, from thence by a line of marked trees and vacant land north-east 3,846 perches to a hickory, from thence north-west by vacant land 940 perches to a post standing near a marked hickory, from thence west 50 degrees south by the Proprietary's and Governor's land 4,360 perches to the first mentioned hickory, containing 22,377 acres. The Warrant aforesaid ordering 22,025 acres to be laid out, and the order allowing a certain bend in the aforesaid river Schuylkill to be added, supposed to contain about 180 acres, but is found to add to the said 22,025 acres the quantity of 352 acres, which added together makes the tract amount to the number of acres first above mentioned. Surveyed the 13th of 8th month, 1701. Returned according to the above said survey and bounds unto the Proprietary and Governor's Secretary's office, 21st of 8th month, 1701.

EDWARD PENINGTON, Surveyor General.

The above tract lay adjoining the east side of John Penn's grant, mentioned in the next chapter. The present borough of Pottstown is situated on the line, and whose territory was taken nearly equally from

those two tracts. This German purchase comprised considerable of Pottsgrove, the whole of New Hanover, besides some additional territory in the adjoining townships. This will explain how the early settlers there were nearly all Germans.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PHILADELPHIA INCORPORATED A CITY.—THE SWEDISH PURCHASE AT MORLATTON.—THE PROPRIETARY MAKES ADDITIONAL PROVISION FOR HIS CHILDREN.—THE NEW CHARTER OF PRIVILEGES.—MAKES HIS WILL AT NEW CASTLE.—ARRIVES SAFELY IN ENGLAND.

[*October 18—January, 1701.*]

THE Governor returned from Pennsbury on the 21st of 8th month, 1701, and held meetings with the Council in Philadelphia on the 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th and 28th, during which time very important business was transacted and which necessarily kept him unusually busy. On the 25th he signed the Charter for the city of Philadelphia, the whole of which may be seen in Proud's History (vol. II., pp. 534, Appendix), and wherein we find the following extract: "That at the humble request of the inhabitants and settlers of this town of Philadelphia, being some of the first adventurers and purchasers within this province, for their encour-

agement, and for the immediate and entire government of the said town, and better regulation of trade therein, I have, by virtue of the King's letters patent, under the great seal of England, erected said town into a borough, and by these presents do erect the said town and borough of Philadelphia into a city; which said city shall extend the limits and bounds, as it is laid out between Delaware and Schuylkill."

By the same two market days were allowed to be held each week, to be on Fourth and Seventh days, and two fairs every year, one to begin the 16th of 3d month, called May, the other on the 16th of 9th month, and each to be for two days. "And I do hereby grant," says Penn, "that all the vacant land within the bounds and limits of the said city shall remain open, as a free common, or pasture, for the use of the inhabitants of the said city, until the same shall be gradually taken in, in order to build or improve thereon, and not otherwise." He appointed Edward Shippen, mayor, Thomas Story, recorder, Thomas Farmer, sheriff and Robert Asheton, clerk of the courts. It will be observed by the aforesaid, that previously the city had been an incorporated town or borough, but now for its better government and regulation was allowed much more extensive privileges.

On the 18th the Governor addressed a letter to Lieut.-Gov. Nanfan, of New York, in respect to the dilatory action of the Assembly in not voting supplies for the defence of that colony. "Yet," he says, "they

could not be prevailed with to think of any supply for the Fort, being extremely in arrears to the public, and the Lower Counties very poor and long indebted to the merchants, and their staple, tobacco, none of the best and never lower." No doubt the Assembly was scrupulous on this matter, but on which the Proprietary had fully committed himself and now endeavored to palliate for their neglect.

The descendants of some of the early Swedish settlers below Philadelphia being desirous of removing further up the country and found a colony near the head of the navigable waters of the Schuylkill, in consequence availed themselves of the opportunity whilst Penn was still in the country to make a considerable purchase. For this purpose they selected the Rev. Andrew Rudman, their minister in Philadelphia and provost of the Swedish church, to act as their chief agent. Satisfactory arrangements having been made, the following instructions were issued:

William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania and counties annexed. At the request of Andreas Rudman, Clerk, on behalf of himself and several of his countrymen the Swedes, the old inhabitants of this province desires to make a new settlement that I would grant him to take up Ten Thousand acres of Land on the River Schuylkill near Manatawny Creek. These are to require thee forthwith to survey and lay out or cause to be laid out to the said Andreas for the uses aforesaid according to the method of Townships

by me appointed the said number of Ten Thousand acres of land at the yearly rent of one bushel of wheat per hundred acres. Beginning about six hundred perches in a direct line up the River Schuylkill above the German's upper line and going ten miles backwards from the River with the said German's Land, or in case the said place shall not appear convenient for them then to lay out the said number of acres for the uses aforesaid in any other place afore described and make returns not only of the whole tract but of the several subdivisions thereof from time to time as they shall be made unto my Secretary's office. Given under my Hand and Seal at Philadelphia the 21st of 8ber, 1701.

WM. PENN,

To Edward Penington, Surveyor General.

This purchase led to the Morlatton settlement, on which St. Gabriel's church was finished in 1737, at the present Douglasville, Berks county. Among those early settlers here can be mentioned Marcus Hulings, Jonas Jones, Mounce Jones, Jonas Yocum, and several of the name of Anderson, Kerst and Kerlin.

As is well known amidst all his pecuniary embarrassments Penn continued an indulgent parent, and before his departure concluded to make some additional provision for his children. On the 24th of this (Oct.) month conveyed to his daughter Letitia the manor of Mount Joy, containing 7,800 acres, located on the west side of the Schuylkill, adjoining the Welsh tract in the present Montgomery county and a little south of Val-

ley Forge. This grant included "all the powers of court baron, court leet and frankplege." Oldmixon in his British Empire in America, published in 1708, says that the first limestone dug in America was on this manor. On the following day he conveyed to his infant son not yet two years old a tract of 12,000 acres on the east side of the Schuylkill in the vicinity of the present borough of Pottstown. This was retained by the said John Penn till June 20th, 1735, when he sold it to George McCall of Philadelphia for 2,000 guineas, or in our present currency $9,333, and on a resurvey was found to contain 14,060 acres. On the same day also bestowed on the said son the manor of Perkasie of 10,000 acres in the present township of Rockhill, Bucks county. These were to be held in trust by Samuel Carpenter, Edward Penington and Isaac Norris till he attained his majority.

On the 27th Isaac Norris addressed a letter to Jeffrey Pennell, a Friend residing in the city of Bristol, wherein he says that "This comes by our Proprietor and Governor, Penn, who, with his family, are undertaking this hazardous voyage at too hard a season. I earnestly desire and pray for their preservation and safety—him we shall want. The unhappy misunderstandings in some, and unwarranted opposition in others, have been a block to our plenary comforts in him, and his own quiet; but these things are externals only. Our communion in the church sweetens all, and our inward waitings and worships together have often been

a general comfort and consolation; and in this I take a degree of satisfaction, after all, that we part in love; and some of his last words, in our meeting yesterday, were, 'That he looked over all infirmities and outwards, and had an eye to the regions of spirits, wherein was our surest tie;' and in true love, there he took leave of us. His excellent wife—and she is beloved by all, I believe I may say in its full extent; so is her leaving us heavy, and of real sorrow to her friends—she has carried under and through all with a wonderful evenness, humility, and freedom; her sweetness and goodness have become her character, and are, I believe extraordinary. In short we love her, and she deserves it." We learn from the aforesaid that Penn had attended meeting on the 26th in the city, and had preached on the occasion and had taken his leave of the congregation.

The warrant to run the line between Chester and New Castle counties was signed by the Governor on the 28th. This was the beginning of the famous Mason and Dixon's line, and separating Pennsylvania from the Territories, as the three lower counties were called, now constituting the state of Delaware. The said warrant directed that it should be made "By a circular line extending according to ye King's Letters Pattents and Deeds of Enfoeffment from the Duke for ye same, and ye sd circular line to be well marked two-thirds part of ye semicircle."

However among the most important matters was

the signing on the 28th of the new Charter of Privileges for the Province, which was the third Frame of Government adopted. The first was made in England April 25th, 1682, and the second April 2d, 1683. The present one continued in force till into the Revolution, when it was entirely supplanted by a State Constitution. Of this Charter it becomes us now to dwell, for compared to the previous ones as respects privileges the people were considerably the losers, while the Proprietary rights were greatly strengthened. The Council or what we might call the Senate, were no longer elective, the Proprietary had now the power to select and dismiss them at his pleasure and without any restriction as to their number. The Governor had also the power to restrain the Assembly in the passage of any bill he now thought fit.

In the third article of the Charter we find "That the freemen in each respective county, at the time and place of meeting for electing their representatives to serve in Assembly, may, as often as there shall be occasion choose a double number of persons to present to the Governor for sheriffs and coroners, to serve three years, if so long they behave themselves well out of which respective elections and presentments, the Governor shall nominate and commissionate one for each of the said offices." Though elections were held and appeared free yet with such restriction could amount to little, but to render officials pliant and tract-

able to the measures or designs of the Proprietaries. We need not wonder any longer when we come to examine into it at the high-handed or arbitrary proceedings of such men as deputy Governors Evans and Denny, backed as they were by the powers to which they owed their positions. In examining the Colonial Records and Archives we frequently find the appointment of men who had received the next highest vote, the opposing candidate continuing to be elected by the greatest majority a number of times and still failing therein, owing to some objectionable cause to the Proprietary party.

Gordon in his History of Pennsylvania (pp. 121–3), mentions another strong point gained by the Proprietary in the new Charter. "Nor was the Council recognized as a part of the government, unless a prohibition to the Governor and Council to take cognizance of any complaint relating to property, except appeals should be allowed by law from the ordinary tribunals, may be considered as such recognition. The practice of trying causes relative to real estate, before the Governor and Council, as well as those in which private citizens were parties, as those in which the Proprietary was interested, had been continued. This made him a judge in his own cause, and was highly objectionable when the Council was elected by the people; it became wholly inadmissible when that body became the mere creature of the Governor."

The Charter of Privileges to the Province and

Counties, which Penn had signed on the 28th of October, 1701, may be seen in full in the Colonial Records. (Vol. II., pp. 56–61.) On the same day he appointed Edward Shippen, John Guest, Samuel Carpenter, William Clark, Thomas Story, Griffith Owen, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Finney, Caleb Pusey, and John Blunston to be his Council of State for the Government of the said Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties annexed, of whom any four shall be a quorum to consult and assist with the best of their advice and council, him or his deputy Governor for the time being. And of whom he says "to continue in place till my further order shall be known: and I further hereby grant to my Lt. Governor for the time being, full power and authority, upon the decease or removal of any of the said Council, to nominate and appoint others to serve in their place and stead, also to add to the number of the Council now appointed." So passed away the independent elective Council for the Proprietary Government. Ellis in his Life of Penn (p. 372) is considerably mistaken when he says that "the new frame of Government was essentially the same, except in allowing the territories to separate from the government of the province." Very probably without examining into the subject, Janney says (p. 451) that "in some respects was even more liberal than those which preceded it."

The Governor probably left Philadelphia on the 29th or on the morning of the 30th, for we know that on

this day he had arrived at New Castle where he made his will. This instrument is so interesting that we propose to give therefrom the following extracts:

"New Castle on Delaware, 30, 8br, 1701.

"Because it is appointed for all men once to dye, and yt their days are in the hands of the Almighty their Creator, I think fitt upon this my present voyage to make my last will and testament, which is as follows, vizt: * * * * * * I give to my servants John and Mary Satcher three hundred acres between them, to James Logan one thousand acres and my blacks their freedom as is under my hand already and to ould Sam 100 acres, to be his childrens after he and wife are dead forever, on common rent of one bushel of wheat yearly forever, and for performance of which I desire my loving Friends Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Edward Penington and James Logan in America or any three of them and Benjamin Gool, Thomas Callowhill, Henry Goldney and Joseph Pike in England or any three of them to be my executors, trustees and overseers, or any three of them to see this my last will observed, and that I have right done me about my incumbrances and that my family suffer not by oppressive demands but to get me and myne righted in the law or equity, and I do hereby charge all my children, as their loving dying Father's last command and desire that they never goe to law, but if any difference should arise wch I would hope will not,

that they be concluded by the Judgement of Frds to be chosen by the meeting of sufferings of the people called Quakers in England for English and Irish concerns, and in America of the ffrds of the quarterly meeting at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania for a small decision.—I do further ordain by this will that my estate I here give to either or any of my children be never alienated from my family for want of heirs of their own body but that debts being payd they may owe, the rest to be inherited by the next of blood of my body and descent and for want thereof my dear sister and her blood in such manner as she shall appoint.

"And now—if ever I have done amiss to any I desire their forgiveness—and for all the good offices I have ever done, I give God who enabled me the honor and thanks—and for all my enemies and their evil reflections—and reports and endeavors to ruin me in name and estate—I doe say the Lord forgive them—and amend them.—For I have ever from a child loved the best things and people, and have had a heart—I bless the name of Almighty God to do good without gain. Yea sometimes for evill—and to consume my own to serve others, which has been my greatest burden—an infirmity having a minde not only just but kinde even to a fault. For it has made me hardly so just by means of debts thereby contracted as my integrity would have made me.

"And now for all my good Friends that have loved and helped me doe so still in my poor children what

you can, and God Almighty be to you and yours an ample reward—You have my hearty and grateful acknowledgements and commemoration who never lived to myself From my very youth But you and the whole world in love and service. This I ordain to be, and accordingly is my last will and testament revoaking all other. Given under my hand and seal, the day and year above written.

WM. PENN [SEAL.]

"Sealed and delivered in the presence of Richard Hallowell, Joseph Wood, Robert Asheton, James Logan."

It is entirely too long for our purpose but the whole may be seen in *Friends' Intelligencer* (vol. II., p. 337, for 1846), besides it was superseded by a later Will, made on the 27th of 3d month, 1712. However, its contents are calculated to give the general reader a deeper insight into his principles on a serious matter, and that too just before undertaking a long voyage at a hazardous time of the year and as characteristic of the man. It also gives his sentiments on several important subjects: particularly relating to differences of opinion that might arise as to the mode of adjusting and settling the affairs of his estate. The original was found among the papers of the late Miers Fisher, and from thence came into the possession of Thomas Gilpin.

On the same day "The Proprietors Agreement

about the Charter for the Lower Counties" was agreed upon at New Castle and is as follows:

"Because my time has been very short, and many matters of moment crowding at once upon me, I have not been able to digest and thoroughly consider the Charter of Property in all the branches of it, especially in point of courts, and powers therein expressed. I have thought fit, for a common safety to forbear the complete passing of the same, until I see the state of affairs at home.

2dly. Because the lower counties are not included; and till they either are included, or have a charter for their properties also, I cannot safely do it.

3dly. I shall, in the compass of six months, order the passing of the said charter, under the Great Seal, if God give me life, unless affairs at home require us to change measures for the general good.

4thly. I do hereby declare, grant and confirm the first part, relating strictly to titles of lands, as amply to be of force as if I expected the same, and only decline that of powers from necessary caution for a common safety.

Wherefore I do hereby order that my honored friend, Governor Hamilton, keep the said draught in his custody, signed by me, unsealed, till he hears from me; and if he hears not from me to the contrary, or my heirs, in six months' time, that then he suffer it to pass under the seal, and not otherwise; hereby promising to all concerned that that, or such an

instrument in the substance thereof as counsel learned in the law in England shall advise to be safe for me and the people to pass, shall be by me executed, there or here, for our mutual further security. In testimony of which, I do hereunto set my hand and seal, this 31st, 8br, 1701.

WILLIAM PENN. [SEAL.]

"I do also promise to the lower counties a charter of property suitable to our relation to one another, if they require it from me."

The Charter of the Borough of Chester was signed on the 31st, and to which he ordered the Great Seal of the Province to be affixed. It is curious from what motive he should have thus deferred it to be also signed at New Castle. The following interesting extract is given from the same:

"William Penn true and absolute Proprietary and Governor-in-chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Territories thereunto belonging: To all to whom these Presents shall come, sends greeting.—Whereas in my first Regulation and Division of the counties of this Province, I thought fit to order, That the Townstead or village then having the Name of Upland should be called Chester, which I thereupon constituted the Shiredom of the County of Chester, and ordained and appointed all my Courts of Judicature for the affairs of that County to be there held and kept, and the County Goal or Prison to be and remain there for ever. And whereas about the same Time or soon after, for the

Encouragement of the said Town, I was pleased to grant unto my ancient Friend John Simcock in behalf of himself and others the Inhabitants of the said Place, the Privilege of a Market to be there weekly held and kept. After which the said Inhabitants, upon their special Instance, did also obtain from my late Lieutenant Governor and Council a Grant for two Fairs to be held in the said town yearly. All which the inhabitants of the said Town, and of the adjacent Parts of the said County of Chester, having humbly brought me to confirm unto them, together with such additional Priviliges and Franchises as I might think fit or requisite for the better Encouragement of the Settlers, and regulation of trade therein."

From the flourish that the descendants of Penn had made with their titles down to the Revolution, we were not aware before that they could go to him for precedent, but we have here the fact, in styling himself "true and absolute Proprietary and Governor-in-chief of Pennsylvania, and Territories thereunto belonging."

The Proprietary had already on the 12th of October, or 8th month, made an agreement with Captain John Fitch, the commander of the ship *Dolmahoy*, for his passage to England under the following conditions:

"That the said Governor shall have the full and free use of the whole great cabin of the ship, in her voyage from Pennsylvania to London, to himself and family; for which he shall pay the said Captain at London, 50

guineas. And for every person going in said cabin (a young child excepted) £3 per head, for their necessary accommodations of fire, water, etc., and storage for provisions; for such passengers as lie out of the cabin, and eat of the ship's provisions, £6 per head, and for those that do not eat of the same. That, for all such dry-goods and packages as the said captain must pay E. Shippen freight for, the said Governor shall pay the Captain the same rate. That, in case the captain should be obliged to sail without the Governor, he shall then be paid at London for his disappointment. In witness, whereof, the said parties have hereunto interchangeably set their hands the day and year first above written."

On the 3d of November from on board the ship he gave his "Instructions to James Logan, my Receiver and Secretary," and which the latter endorsed "Proprietor's last instructions to me, just at Parting." We give the greater portion of its contents: the whole may be seen in the Penn and Logan Correspondence (vol. II., pp. 59–61.)

"I have left thee in an uncommon trust, with a singular dependence on thy justice and care, which I expect thou wilt faithfully employ in advancing my honest interest. Use thy utmost endeavors, in the first place, to receive all that is due to me. Get in quit-rents; sell lands according to my instructions to my commissioners; look carefully after all fines, forfeitures, escheats, deodands, and strays, that shall

belong to me as proprietor or chief governor. Get in the taxes and Friends' subscriptions, and use thy utmost diligence in making remittances to me, with all my effects, by bills of exchange, tobacco or other merchandise, or by any means that in the best judgment, or the advice of my friends skilled in those affairs, may be my advantage, not only directly to London, but by the West Indies, or by any other prudent method whatsoever; but take advice especially of Edward Shippen and Samuel Carpenter, and others best experienced in trade.

"Thou may continue in the house I lived in till the year is up. Pay off all my notes and orders on thee, settle my accounts, discharge all my debts honorably but carefully, make rent-rolls, draw up an estimate of my estate, and of what may be raised from it, which send over to me as speedily as possible, for it may be of great use to me; and in all other things show thyself a careful and diligent agent to justify my trust of thee for so great a trust. Thou must make good to Col. Hamilton, my deputy Governor, two hundred pounds per annum of your money, till such time as I procure an approbation for him, and afterwards three hundred pounds. Also to John Moore, as attorney-general, thirty pounds a year, so long as he shall serve me faithfully.

"Write to me diligently, advising me of everything relating to my interest. Send all my household goods up to Pennsbury, unless thou inclines to keep sufficient

furniture for a chamber to thyself, for which thou hast my leave: take care that nothing be damnified or lost. Give my dear love to all my friends, who I desire may labor to soften angry spirits, and to reduce them to a sense of their duty; and at thy return give a small treat in my name to the gentlemen at Philadelphia, for a beginning to a better understanding, for which I pray the Lord to incline their hearts for their own ease, as well as mine and my friends.

"For thy own services I shall allow thee what is just and reasonable, either by commission or salary. Serve me faithfully as thou expects a blessing from God or my favor, and I shall support thee to my utmost, as Thy true friend.

WILL. PENN."

According to the custom of Friends, it is quite probable that Penn and his wife received certificates of removal from Falls Monthly Meeting, as we know that his daughter Letitia had from the Monthly Meeting of Women Friends in Philadelphia, and which was dated 27th of 7th month previous.

It may be presumed that on the 4th, the second day of the voyage, the ship had cleared the Capes and was now on her way across the Atlantic, when a curious incident transpired. We mean the writing of a letter on said day by Thomas Callowhill to his daughter, addressed "William Penn, Esqr., Proprietor and Governor of Pensilvania for H. P." We give the following

extracts, copied from the original, perhaps now first published: (2.)

Bristol, 4th of 9th month, 1701.

DEAR HANNAH.

Thine of the 17th and 22d of 6th month last came to our hands and gave us the satisfaction of hearing of your health, &c., so welcome to us. We continue in indifferent good health. I bless God many are in expectation of your sudden coming over, which makes me doubt whether this may find you at Pensilvania or not, if it doth let it bring to thy remembrance what I wrote in my former touching my lands purchased there of which I expected thy care and some answer. Thy letter hints great uncertainty in your settlement and it is the opinion of B. C. and other Friends that you will come over suddenly, otherwise thy mother would incline to send over some necessaries which she now omits because of the uncertainty of its finding thee. We are now come to the 16th and in pretty good degree of health but not without weakness and pains that attends our age and decaying bodies. Last five days past brought us news that Parliament was disolved and that the King would issue out writts for a new Election to sit the 30th of 10th month. This letter is now sent with dear love from myself and thy Mother to the Governor, thyself, dear John, Tishe and our friends in general. Phebe desires to be kindly remembered to you.

THO. CALLOHILL.

We can see in the aforesaid that from information derived from previous correspondence that Hannah Penn had determined on returning to England, and that even this coming would not, to her family, be wholly unexpected, and who appear to have encouraged her in it. This reminds us of the Proprietary's letter from Pennsbury the 8th of 7th month previous to James Logan, wherein he says, "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay and still less with Tishe. I know not what to do." We may well fancy the poor man's feelings when that was written.

In his return Penn had a remarkably quick passage, and infer from his correspondence that he must have arrived at Portsmouth about the 4th of December. On the 10th of 11th month he addressed a letter from Kensington to his "Honored and Esteemed Friends," most probably his Provincial Council in which he mentions "having all ready written from Portsmouth by the Jersey Frigate to Governor Hamilton. I bless God this leaves us all well save my sore leg and toe which yet are in a kindly way to be better. I have little news to write you; only am told the business I came about is like to be dropt, and I am at some stand still what to do, I hope God will direct for the best.

"Here has been villainous work against us, such fallacy, malice, and trickery, 't is contemptible as well as wicked; but I do not despond. Affairs here are dubious, a war likely next spring. Parties very warm and contesting, hard to say which may carry it. I

wish a discreet composure. I say no more than that I pray God Almighty to be with and among you in his fear and wisdom, and bring us once more together, which will be a comfortable day I hope."

"Thou wilt hear," he wrote to Logan on the 4th of 11th month, "long ere this comes to thy hand, I doubt not, of all our safe arrival, through the great and continued mercies of God; save my leg got a small rub about four days before our coming into the channel, which by contrary applications in town, has disabled me from having the benefit of my swift passage, as I might otherways have had. We were but twenty-six days from land to soundings, twenty-eight to the start in Devonshire, and thirty to Portsmouth. Nothing yet done in my affairs, but my coming I do more and more see necessary, on divers accounts; though a troublesome and costly journey. My son has been very serviceable, but costly, and half given away for the country.

"I wrote by an English ship, last week—in short, not time to read it—that if John and Mary come, his brother leaving him £150, if he come in two years for it, that Hugh be steward and gardener, and old Peter go to the garden when needful; and that Phineas Pemberton's wife and daughter see to the bedding and linen, once a month. Mind that the leads be mended. I pray God continue poor Phineas. We remember you all, in your respective capacities, with much love and regard, and Pennsylvania will not be forgotten.

Remember me to all officers in Government, and to deserving friends, &c."

He also states respecting the voyage that "five of the last days clear for observation, before we came to the Channel. The Captain very civil, and all company. Tishe and Johnne, after the first five days hearty and well, and Johnne exceedingly cheerful all the way." By John and Mary he means the steward and his wife at Pennsbury, and Tishe and Johnne, his daughter and infant son. In his letter to the Proprietary dated the 2d of 10th month, Logan says, "This it is hoped, will find thee, through the good providence of God, safely arrived on the English shore, which is the repeated desire and prayer of thousands here."

Having now followed Penn for the last time to his native land and from the beginning of his two voyages to their close, it may be well for comparison's sake to furnish the amount of time occupied in each and how long he was altogether in the Province. The first time he left England September 1st, 1682, and returned about October 6th, 1684, consequently absent about two years and thirty-six days. The second time he left September 3d, 1699, and returned about December 4th, 1701, making about two years and three months, the total being four years and a little over four months. He arrived in the colony the first time October 27th, 1682, and left August 16th, 1684, making one year and nearly nine and a half months. The second time December 1st, 1699, and left Novem-

ber 3d, 1701, making one year and upwards of eleven months, being altogether in the Province about three years and ten and a half months in his lifetime of upwards of thirty-four years since he received his grant.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PENN'S TROUBLES IN ENGLAND.—HOW EVANS BECAME DEPUTY GOVERNOR.—ACCOUNT OF LETITIA PENN.—THE PROPRIETARY NO FINANCIER.—AFFAIRS AT PENNSBURY.

ACCORDING to the Proprietary's cash book kept by James Logan and now in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, his whole expenses while here from November, 1699, to the same month, 1701, amounted to £2,049 Pennsylvania currency, being equivalent to $5,464.86 of our present money. This probably also includes all expenses for repairs and improvements made at Pennsbury within said period, as well as all outlays for labor.

A catalogue of the goods left at Pennsbury was made by James Logan the 3d of 11th month, 1701, and contains a long list of the various articles of furniture, etc., remaining in the several rooms of the mansion house there. It is too lengthy for our use, but the whole may be seen in the Penn and Logan Correspondence (vol. I., p. 62.), and is not without interest.

From the Bucks county records we learn that on the 17th of 11th month, 1701, for the sum of £100 Ster-

ling, Penn conveyed to George Beale, yeoman of Guilford, in Surrey "3000 acres of land clear of Indian incumbrances in the said Province between the river Susquehanna and Delaware," and to which he duly affixed his hand and seal, witnessed by William Lirkfold and William Beale. This instrument we find was not recorded till April 4th, 1729. The stipulations in this deed are so unusual, at least to us, having never observed anything like it in any other grant. We must therefore conclude that it was his great need of money alone that caused him to submit to the requirements of such a title.

No doubt on his arrival home the Proprietary must have felt some relief, while his wife and daughter on this account must have continued in happiness for months. But his anxieties were yet by no means over if we are to judge his feelings as expressed in the following, addressed to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations on the 7th of 2d month, 1702:

"As I am much obliged to your justice that I shall not be condemned unheard so I must by the continuance of it to allow my circumstances the time required to wait upon you. I am one hundred miles off with a weak family and divided; my wife in one place; a poor weak child in another whose languishing condition occasioned my leaving the town some days sooner than I intended though I had been unprofitably as well as expensively there a whole month. And indeed I thought all attempts against us over for this session

and had leave as I may call it of Lord Manchester to follow my family concerns. I shall leave nothing to an agent being upon the spot myself, and hope I shall not be surprised by hasty commands. If I did not write I told your Secretary why. It was no fault but my trouble. I was too infirm to stand an hour or two with legs as feeble as mine are well known to be. I hope the malice of my enemies and those of my deserving country shall not have that power with you to hurry me away without some reasonable allowance of time. And in the mean time I pray for a copy of the accusations."

Governor Hamilton, whom Penn had appointed as his deputy, died in February, on which account he addressed a letter to the Lords Commissioners of Trade on the 2d of 5th month, 1703, in which he says that he was "informed by a letter from New York the 3d of the month called May of the death of Col. Hamilton, and well knowing the importance of it to the public that this place be supplied forthwith I humbly propose to the Board to recommend to the Queen's approbation Col. Wm. Markham or Capt. John Finney."

On the 6th, or a few days after he wrote to the same: "Finding some difficulty was made at the Board upon my naming Col. Markham to you though the most capable person to fill up the present vacancy by the death of Col. Hamilton there and being unacquainted with Capt. Finney's friends in England that should give security for his regular administration, I presented

to the Queen in my petition John Evans, Esq. for her Royal approbation, a person of good sense and reputation to be my Lieutenant Governor for the Province of Pennsylvania and Territories, which being referred to your last Cabinet I earnestly beg you will not suffer me to lose the Council to-morrow the ship being ready to go in a very few days by way of Boston, and the Province suffering greatly in their affairs for want of a Governor upon the spot and you will oblige, &c."

Two days after he wrote another letter urging still more strongly the approval of Evans, and as it is brief and has never before been published, give it in full that the reasons for his choice may be known.

"To the Lords of Trade, &c.

8, 5 mo. (July) 1703.

"Hon'ble Friends. The Gentlemen named in my Petition to the Queen and Letter to you, is a person that has had a liberal education, been abroad and knows the world very well is sober, discreet and of a good understanding for his time. No merchant and to no temptation that way. No soldier but has been in Flanders and observed the discipline of the troops frequently and penetrates more than I presume our poor colony wants. He will give security as Col. Hamilton did and has more than enough to secure them that are his and is not in debt but lives like a gentleman upon his estate here. He is a single man neither voracious nor extravagant and is a known

zealous member of the Church of England, and I presume will be recommended by gentlemen of undoubted reputation. I am in hopes this may satisfy your inquiry and the gentleman that gives this for me being his acquaintance Charles Lawton, Esq., who may be more particular if you think it necessary. I am your respectful Friend,

WM. PENN." (4.)

Markham was a good selection and it is to be regretted that he failed therein. Evans, though only about twenty-six years of age, must have evidently been a man of some means, according to what he states in the above letter. One account represents him to have been at this time an officer in the Queen's household, and that his father was on the most intimate terms with the Proprietary. Of the subsequent scandalous conduct of Governor Evans and William Penn, Jr., in Philadelphia, a pretty full account may be seen in Dixon's Biography.

As has been stated in a previous chapter when the Proprietary sailed for this country he left behind him his only surviving son by the first wife, William Penn, Jr., who had been married and the father of several children. On his return he found that he had become addicted to dissipated habits, evil companions and greatly involved in debt. He concluded for his good to send him over with Governor Evans to Pennsylvania, recommending him to the care of James Logan. He arrived with hounds, hunting equipments and fish-

ing tackle to divert his mind and keep him from city temptations at Pennsbury. But the novelty soon wore off, he took to Philadelphia, and fell into his former habits, and after a few years residence returned with as little respect for the colony as the people had here for him. As early as 1689, the Proprietary had directed Thomas Holme, the Surveyor-General, to lay out a tract of land "on the canoable part of Schuylkill," and as a provision had conveyed to him the 2d of 8th month, 1704, as the "manor of Williamstadt," containg 7,482 acres. The spendthrift son five days afterwards sold it to Isaac Norris and William Trent for £850 incurred for debts. He was the cause of great anxiety and expense to his father. To avoid his creditors he fled to France, leaving his wife and children to be maintained at the family seat at Rushcombe. He died at Liege in 1720, of consumption and fever brought on by his excesses. Though we give additional information, Dixon gives a pretty full account of him, while he is barely mentioned by the rest of Penn's biographers.

Respecting Letitia Penn, who accompanied her father to Pennsylvania, we have not been enabled to find any published account beyond an incidental mention of her name. We are now enabled, however, to supply, in part, this defect from information derived chiefly from manuscript sources. Her age we have been unable to ascertain, but we know that at her departure for America she must have been a full-grown

young woman. Among her associates and visitors at Pennsbury we find mention of the daughters of Edward Shippen, of Philadelphia, and Governor Jennings, of Burlington. She was present at the marriage of one or two of the latter at the meeting house there. On the marriage of Mary Lofty, the stewardess of Pennsbury, she made her a present of a chest of drawers that had cost £7. Her father bestowed on her, the 29th of 1st month, 1701, the large lot on the south side of Market street between Front and Second, with the cottage theron, which was occupied by him on the occasion of his first visit. She sold off a portion of this ground to Charles Read the following 9th of 5th month. The manor of Mount Joy, containing 7,800 acres on the Schuylkill, adjoining the Welsh tract was patented to her the 24th of 8th month of the same year. Of this she retained possession till 1736. In his letters Penn calls her Tishe and mentions her increasing desire to return, her illness and how after the first five days of the voyage she continued in good health. When arrangements had been made for returning, according to the custom of Friends she made application for a certificate of removal which was granted and read as follows:

From our Monthly Meeting of Women Friends in Philadelphia, the 27th of 7th month, 1701.

To our worthy and well deloved sisters in London, Bristol, or wherever these may come, grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, be greatly multiplied among you all. Amen.

These may certify you, that our worthy and well beloved friend, Letitia Penn, intending to cross seas with her honourable parents, hath for good order's sake desired a certificate from us, and we can freely certify all whom it may concern, that she hath well behaved herself here, very soberly, and according to the good instructions which she has received in the way of truth, being well inclined, courteously carriaged, and sweetly tempered in her conversation amongst us, and also a diligent comer to meeting, and hope she hath plentifully received the dew which hath fallen upon God's people, to her settlement, and established in the same.

"She is free from any engagement on the account of marriage, as far as we know, and our desires are earnestly for her preservation, that she may faithfully serve the God of her fathers, that her green years being seasoned with grace, may bud and blossom, and bring forth ripe fruits to the praise of God, and the comfort of his people, which is the true desire of your friends and sisters in the near relationship of the unchangeable truth. Signed on behalf of and by appointment of the meeting."

She was married to Wm. Aubrey 20th of 6th month, 1702, about nine months after her arrival in England. Her father, in a letter to James Logan, dated 6th of 7th month, thus mentions it: "My daughter is married next Fifth day will be three weeks. We have brought her home, where I write, a noble house for the city,

and other things I hope well." Respecting this affair John Stoughton makes the following remarks (Wm. Penn the Founder, London, 1882, pp. 318–19): "Some said Letitia at the time was under an engagement to William Masters, and when the persons who signed the certificate heard this, they wished to recall it, whereupon much controversy ensued. For soon after her return to England she was married to one William Aubrey. Certainly we find her brother saying in a letter from London, 'My sister Letitia has, I believe, a very good sort of man, that makes a good husband: William Masters, whatever ground he had for it in Pennsylvania, made a mighty noise here, but it lasted not long.' The father also remarked that she was married, adding: 'But S. Penington's, if not S. Harwood's, striving for William Masters against faith, truth, and righteousness, will not be easily forgotten; though things come honourably off, to his and the old envy's confusion, his father's friends nobly testifying against the actions of both.' Penn has not clearly expressed himself in this last sentence, but I gather from it that there had been a family dispute; that the relations of Letitia's mother did not approve of the match, and herein differed from the father's opinion. He clearly had a strong feeling of displeasure, and makes no secret of it."

In the work on "The Penns and Peningtons (London, p. 418) mention is made that Letitia Aubrey's husband having got a portion in money with her and

a promise of land in Pennsylvania, ten thousand acres were bequeathed to her." We feel positive that we somewhere saw in the receipts and expenditures amongst the Penn manuscripts that this portion had been fixed at £2,000 Sterling, for which Penn had given obligations, and that for several years thereafter had been in the practice of paying him the interest thereon. To a man so in debt this sum appears enormous, but presume in justice to Letitia was small enough to what William Penn, Jr., had already cost him. She had no children and died in 1745, and was buried near her parents at Jordans. She had made a will, dated 20th of 5th month, 1744, and which was proven 5th of 2d month, 1746.

It has been the practice of several of the biographers of Penn to dwell on the obstinacy of Lord Baltimore and the faithlessness or dishonesty of his agents, particularly the Fords, as the causes of his pecuniary embarrassments, without a word of reflection as to his own capacity or abilities as a financier. As a scholar he possessed literary abilities of a high order, and as a statesman was endowed with executive qualifications, whose ideas were even in advance of his age, and at once bold, original and practical. He was no cold statue as some would build up, but a man of generous views, benevolent and warm hearted even to impulsiveness, hence the indulgent parent, the liability to credulousness, the chief causes of pecuniary distress and ruin arising directly or indirectly from its promoters indebtedness and extravagance.

If ever a mind suffered from these causes it was Penn's, and to which he so often alludes in his writings. In his parting address to his wife and children at Worminghurst on the 4th of 6th month, 1682, he says, "Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it." This he should also have particularly heeded and wherein he alludes also to his father-in-law Springett by his "public-spiritedness having worsted his estate." He thus wrote to Logan in 12th month, 1702, "I strictly charge thee to represent to Friends that I am forced to borrow money, adding debts to debts, for conferences, counsel's opinions, hearings, etc., with the charges for them. Guineas melting away, four, five, six a week, and sometimes as many in a day." Again he wrote eight months later, and but a few days after Letitia's marriage. "I never was so reduced; for Ireland has hardly any money. England severe to her. No trade but hither and at England's mercy for prices, so that we must go and eat out half our rents, or we cannot enjoy them." In another letter he says, "I am sorry to have such a prospect of charges; two houses and the Governor's salary, my son's voyage, stay, and return; and no revenue nor Susquehanna money paid, on which account I ventured my poor child so far away from his wife and pretty children, and my own oversight. Oh! Pennsylvania, what hast thou not cost me? Above £30,000 more than I ever got; two hazardous and

fatiguing voyages; my straits and slavery here; and my child's soul almost."

We think that in these his voluntary doings he has been unnecessarily severe and perhaps unthankful, and shall therefore give the views of Judge Quarry on this matter in his letter to the Lords of Trade, dated May 30th, 1704 (see Docs. relating to Col. Hist., N. Y., vol. IV., p. 1083), and who appears was thus acting under instructions from the Government who, it is evident, exercised a system of espionage.

"I am obliged to acquaint your Lordships that besides the £2,000 which the Assembly gave Mr. Penn before he went hence, and the Excise on beer, wine, &c., he had managed the people so with his specious promises, that he got a subscription from all the severall meetings throughout the whole Province, which by a very modest computation amounts to £2500, one of the original subscriptions and an original receipt from his Secretary and Receiver General to the Collector; I have in my possession, a copy of which is here enclosed by which your Lordships will see the pretences he uses to impose upon the poor people, and to gain his point, so that by these ways together with the Quit rents, Supernumerary land, and the constant sale of land, the Country is quite drained of all the money, there is scarce enough left to go to market."

In his parting instructions to Logan, the 3d of 9th month, 1701, he stated among the rest that he should

"get in the Friends subscriptions," and as these were continued for some time after Judge Quarry's report may have considerably exceeded said sum. It is remarkable how silent this matter has remained, we believe none of Penn's biographers make any mention of it, and the whole amount thus received by him it is likely was never made known. In his Will, made at New Castle, October 30th, 1701, Penn thus alluded to the cause of his financial troubles: "To do good without gain, yea sometimes for evil, and to consume my own to serve others, has been my greatest burden. An infirmity having a mind not only just but kind even to a fault. For it has made me hardly so just by means of debts thereby contracted as my integrity would have made me."

On this subject Robert Sutcliff, a Friend from England, relates an anecdote that he had received in 1805 (Travels, p. 104), from an old family he had been visiting in Merion, Montgomery county. "At this place," he says, "I was told that as William Penn was once coming up from New Castle to Philadelphia, a Friend in the vessel remarked that both the wind and the tide were against them; William Penn immediately replied, that 'himself had been sailing against wind and tide all his life!' This reply was very descriptive of the difficulties which this great man encountered in the world."

As respects the holding of slaves and the subject of slavery Penn's views were decidedly in advance of his

age, and that for himself his character stands undiminished. By his Will made at New Castle, the 30th of 8th month, 1701, he gives his "blacks their freedom as is under my hand already." Hannah Penn, in a letter dated London, 9th of 3d month, 1720, to her cousin, Rebecca Blackfan, at Pennsbury, says, "The young blacks must be disposed of to prevent their increasing charge. I have offered my daughter Aubrey one, but she does not care for any, I would however have the likeliest boy reserved, and bred up for reading and sobriety as intending him for myself, or one of my children; about which I design to write to J. Logan, for if Sue promises a good industrious servant and sober I would have her the more tenderly used than I had intended."

Accordingly she wrote to Logan the 6th of the following month: "I find from my Cousin Blackfan that there are several small negroes at Pennsbury incapable of working if so it is hard I should be at the expense of keeping them on my charge and as that estate belongs to my son Penn, wherefore I must desire thou wilt consider of it and dispose of them to the best advantage. Though I would not have poor Sue sold to one that would use her hardly nor if possible have the children separated from her. I have offered my daughter Aubrey one of them, but she declines it, yet I would have the handsomest and best disposed boys reserved for me and I would have an inventory taken and sent over though there is no need to remove them

till my son has wrote to me about it which he has not yet or if he should order any body to take possession of the place."

To this Logan did not reply till the 11th of 3d month, 1721, nearly a year afterwards. "The Proprietor," he says, "in a Will left with me at his departure, hence gave all his Negroes their freedom but that is entirely private, however there are very few left. Sam died soon after your departure hence and his brother James very lately, Chevalier by a written order from his Master had his liberty several years ago, so that there is none left but Sue whom Letitia claims, or did claim as given to her when she went to England but how rightfully I know not these things you can best discuss. She has several children there are besides two old Negroes quite worn out the remainder of three which I recovered near eighteen years ago of E. Gibb's estate."

Respecting Pennsbury in this letter he says, "I have lately sent for the books, hither but the goods after about twenty years age added to them, thou may assure thyself are much impaired. I wish some order were given about the house which is now ruinous. Buildings in this country as thou art sensible being but of small duration, compared with those of Europe. I have not for some years had one farthing from Rebecca, the plantation she says being scarce able to maintain itself which I know to be too true a story by the experience I have of one near Germantown."

After he had arrived in England the Proprietary had strictly charged his Secretary Logan to "mind that the leads be mended," we do not know of it having been done, and from the tradition of the neighborhood it was this cause that brought about the very damage he mentions.

It is apparent by this correspondence that Hannah Penn was entirely ignorant of the Will that her husband had made, though it is quite probable that she was with him at the time at New Castle. According to Logan's letter there must have been at least seven full grown negro slaves at Pennsbury in 1704, of which three had been received from an estate probably for debt, without counting the children. It is true the Will of 1701 was overruled by that of 1712 in which no mention is made of their liberation, but it appears that had been already provided for in another paper probably held by Logan, and of whose existence we know nothing. Ellis is clearly mistaken (Life of Penn, p. 405) where he says, "There is no proof of Bancroft's assertion that Penn lived and died a holder of slaves. The utmost that can be shown, by the evidence of documents and Penn's cash books, is that he hired a few, the slaves of others."

In relation to Penn and slavery in America, Dixon eloquently remarks, "His latest on the colonial legislature, was in behalf of the poor negroes. Ten years before this period, he had tried in vain to get

a formal recognition of their claims as human beings; but the question of slavery had made rapid progress in the interval, thanks to the efforts of his simple and earnest disciples from Worms and Kirchheim,—and his own ideas had also undergone a considerable development. The Assembly in 1711, passed an act declaring their importation for the future, under any condition, absolutely prohibited. But as soon as the law reached England, to receive the usual confirmation of the Crown, it was peremptorily cancelled. The germs, however, of truth, humanity, and justice, were planted in the colony, and in due season came the harvest. It was only with the revolt against England, that freedom came to any part of the black race in America."

Allusion has been made as to whether Penn had brought up his children in his religious faith, and if so, how long did they conform to the same? William Penn, Jr., during the lifetime of his father, joined the Episcopal Church,* but his recklessness was such that he could by no means be considered a consistent member. Letitia, we are satisfied, lived and died in his faith. Thomas Penn came to this Province with a certificate from the Two Weeks Meeting in London, dated 8th of 3d month, 1732, as did also his elder brother John, which was duly recorded in the minutes of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting from

* He no doubt had been married by Friends' ceremony, as his father-in-law, Charles Jones, was a member of the Meeting at Bristol.

whence we have this information. Some time after Thomas left the faith, but as far as we know John retained it to the last. On this subject it has been a prevailing opinion that his children had all early forsook the Friends, which it will be seen is not the fact.

Mention has been made that Penn had recommended his cousin, Wm. Markham, as Deputy Governor the 2d of 5th month, 1703. However he had been appointed Register-General of Pennsylvania the 29th of 1st month previous in the place of John Moore, who refused to yield him the office. He died in Philadelphia the 12th of 4th month, 1704. He left a will which may be seen in the Register's office, and bequeathed the bulk of his property to his wife; he had an only child, a daughter of whom mention has been made in a previous chapter. He was the owner of several slaves, one of which, an Indian boy born in 1700 and called Ectus Frankson, was to be manumitted at the age of twenty-four, unless his wife by a special deed should otherwise direct.

In chapter XVIII. of this work, we gave statistics relating to the Society of Friends on the departure of Penn in 1684, of which mention was made of eighteen meetings previously organized. We now give the same on his departure in 9th month, 1701. At this time there were in Philadelphia, including the present Montgomery county, eleven, in Bucks, six, and in Chester, including the present Delaware county, eleven; making altogether twenty-eight meetings, of which

probably three-fourths had houses of worship erected, showing an increase of nine or nearly one-third the entire number in seventeen years. In 1702 it is supposed that near one-half the whole population of the Province were Friends. James Logan, in a letter to Penn written in Third month of said year, estimated that Philadelphia contained half the population of the Province, and of which about one-third were Friends, but that in the country they were largely in the majority.

CHAPTER XXXV.

DIVERS OPINIONS RESPECTING THE RESULTS OF PENN'S LABORS AND POLICY, PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO HIS LAST VISIT TO THE COLONY.

As we have arrived at the concluding chapter we propose to give the opinions of various persons respecting the results of the Proprietary's policy and labors for the advancement of his colony, particularly relating to his second visit here in 1699 to the time of his departure. Those that refer to his first stay have been given in chapter XVII. Such encomiums possess considerable interest, and go to show the various opinions that men may entertain or pass on a subject when viewed from different positions. This diversity is not only instructive but suggestive, and enables us the better to form our own judgments on matters which otherwise might be more perplexing.

Peter S. Du Ponceau, in his Address delivered before the American Philosophical Society, June 6th, 1821, thus eloquently speaks of Penn:

"I should love to dwell on the character of our immortal founder, and to point out, by numerous examples, that astonishing ascendency over the minds of

the mass of mankind, which enabled him to raise a flourishing and powerful commonwealth by means of all others the most apparently inadequate. To acquire and secure the possession of an extensive country, inhabited by numerous tribes of warlike savages, without arms, without forts, without the use or even the demonstration of physical force, was an experiment which none but a superior mind would have conceived, which none but a master spirit could have successfully executed. Yet this experiment succeeded in a manner that has justly excited the astonishment of the whole world. 'Of all the colonies that ever existed,' says Ebelung, 'none was ever founded on so philanthropic a plan, none was so deeply impressed with the character of its founder, none practiced in a greater degree the principles of toleration, liberty and peace, and none rose and flourished more rapidly than Pennsylvania. She was the youngest of the British Colonies established before the eighteenth century, but it was not long before she surpassed most of her elder sisters in population, agriculture and general prosperity.'

"For during the fifteen years which followed the departure, until his next return in 1699, history will have to picture far different scenes. The territories separated from the province, a schism in the church, and factions in the state, carried to such a degree of violence as to afford a pretext to the British Ministry to take into their hands the government of the country, and ignominiously annex it to that of a neighboring

colony. The historian will tell how William Penn rose superior to all these difficulties, recovered his former authority, and by his presence here, seduced all factions, re-united the lower counties, and restored the land to its former unanimity and peace. It was then that after three different constitutions had been successively tried and found inefficient, he gave to Pennsylvania that charter, which continued in force until the revolution, and which the people received with expressions of gratitude too soon afterwards forgotten. Unfortunately, this charter contained the seeds of that division between the province and territories, which after his departure broke out again, never to be healed.

"It will ever be a source of regret that William Penn did not, as he had contemplated fixed his permanent residence in his province, and that, after the lapse of nearly two years, he again embarked for England, whence it had been decreed by Providence that he never should return. There is too much reason to believe that in this he yielded to the influence of his wife and of his daughter Letitia, who did not appear to have been pleased with a residence in the country. Yet Hannah Penn was a woman of great merit, and her name will shine conspicuously, and with honor in our history. But when we consider her rank, education, and fortune, and the situation of Pennsylvania at that time, we need not wonder that she preferred the society of her friends in her native land to a life of hardship and self-denial in a newly settled colony. And it is

easy to conceive how William Penn's return may have been postponed amidst efforts to conquer her reluctance, until other circumstances intervened which prevented it altogether."

"Thus we have given," states Oldmixon (Brit. Emp. in America, 1708), "the reader as full an account, as we could get by the best information of Pennsylvania, which was, to use the Proprietary's own words, made at once a country. For it is certain no colony in America came to such perfection in so little time, both in trade, settlements and numbers. Every one of the six counties has a quarterly and monthly Sessions, and Assizes twice a year. There is a Sheriff, for each shire or county, and Justice is frequently and regularly administered. The six counties run along twenty or thirty miles upon the rivers and bays, and backwards, as far as they are planted; in some places above twenty miles.

"The inhabitants consist of people of almost all nations and religions; but the opinion of the Quakers prevails so far, that they are by much the majority as the English are of all the other nations. And the English, Dutch, Swedes, French, Indians and Negroes, in the province of Pennsylvania, may modestly be computed at 35,000 souls. All provisions are reasonable, but labour dear, which makes it a good poor man's country; husbandmen and mechanics getting £15 and £20 wages per annum for their work, besides diet; such as carpenters, smiths, joiners, tailors, shoemakers,

cartwrights, husbandmen, &c. By which the reader may see, that the temptation for people to go thither, to mend their fortunes, to live pleasantly and plentifully, is so great, that it is not to be doubted but this province will get the start of all the other English settlements on the continent of America."

"Though less cruel than the Spaniards," remarks Dixon (Biog. of Penn), "in their greed of gold, the English had scarcely proved themselves more just or rational. Even the Puritan settlers had been at continual war with the natives of the soil, and more than one scene of treachery and atrocity stains the memory of the New England pilgrims. Penn strong in his belief in human goodness, would not arm his followers even for their own defence. In his province he had resolved that the sword should cease to be the symbol of authority; neither soldier nor implement of war should be ever seen; he would rely entirely on justice and courtesy to win the confidence of those whom it had hitherto been the vice of his countrymen to treat only as enemies. The world laughed at the enthusiast who thought of placing his head under the scalping knifes of the Lenni Lenapé; but his stern lieutenant, who had known something of the horrors of our civil war, did not despair of success. An eternal witness of Penn's sagacity is the fact that not one drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian."

James Bowden in his History of Friends in America (vol. II., pp. 123–4), mentions, "When Wil-

liam Penn founded his colony there were states on that continent, in which the non resisting principles of Christianity were recognized; this as we have seen, was the case in the little colony of Rhode Island, and in the more recently established plantations of East and West New Jersey. In political importance and general interest, however, these provinces bear no comparison to that of Pennsylvania. Its extent, its prosperity, its rapid growth in population, the entire recognition of equal rights, the democratic form of its government, together with the large proportion of Friends among the early settlers,—all constitute to render that portion of the history of the province, during which it was conducted on the Christian principles of its enlightened founder, one of no ordinary moment.

"The early settlers in this province, were mostly in religious profession with William Penn. The constitution, therefore, which he had framed harmonized with their views of civil things; and whether in the Council, or in the Assembly, as officers of the peace, jurymen, or constables, Friends not only took their full share in serving the state, but, from the confidence reposed in them by the other colonists, the civil officers were for a long time, mostly occupied by them. In the Council of 1683, composed of eighteen representatives, six, it appears, were ministers in our Society, and a still larger number of Friends in that station were members of the Assembly. During his stay in

the Province, William Penn always presided at the Council; and in the infant days of the colony, so largely were the practices of our religious Society, recognized among the representatives, that instead of opening the proceedings of the day with formal prayer, as in the Parliament at home, and in the Assemblies of neighboring provinces, they waited in solemn silence upon the God of the spirits of all flesh, and inwardly craved his aid, and his blessing, in their efforts thus to serve their fellow men.

"At the decease of William Penn (ib. p. 147), the European population of his province is estimated to have numbered not less than 40,000, of whom one-fourth were inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia. The remaining portion of the population were engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and occupied the country for about one hundred miles along the banks of the Delaware, and from twenty to thirty miles west of that river. About one-half of the community were Friends; the other religious bodies being chiefly Presbyterians, Lutherans and Episcopalians."

"An Examination of the various charges brought by historians against William Penn both as a man and as a political Governor," was the subject of a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, February 3d, 1830, by Job R. Tyson, from which we select the following extract: "Penn, too as a man and a Christian, was anxious to reconstruct the social and moral edifice upon purer principles than the old; but

though intent upon this, he used neither intolerance nor cruelty to aid him in the workmanship. No evidence of either is perceptible in his code. It proclaimed liberty to all, and hailed with open arms professors of every religious persuasion. Let the sanguinary penalties of the New England code of 1641, be placed in opposition to its mild inflictions; or let its universal toleration be contrasted with the laws of Connecticut, passed in 1705, against heretics. If more be wanting, it may be added, that Burke, Anderson, Oldmixon, Father O'Leary, Ebelung, and most of Penn's biographers unite in attributing the superiority of Pennsylvania, in social happiness and domestic quiet, over the other settlements in America, to the early influence of his laws." Respecting the act of 1705, Mr. Tyson remarks that it "was abolished by Queen Anne. After proscribing all kinds of heretics, it provides in particular, that *Quakers* shall be imprisoned or sent out of the colony; that all unnecessary discourse with Quakers, or the possession of their books shall be penal; and that the master of a vessel who shall land Quakers without carrying them away, shall pay the penalty of £20."

"The history of the province," remarks Edward Armstrong (Address, Hist. Society, 1858, p. 32), "in its relation to the interests and happiness of Penn, is a melancholy one. It touches the heart. The strife between his deputies and the Assembly—the ingratitude, unjust and grasping spirit of the people—the

misrepresentations of his enemies, Quarry, Lloyd and their adherents—his difficulties with Lord Baltimore —the consequences of his misplaced confidence in his fraudulent agents, the Fords—his distressing pecuniary embarrassments—the constant threats of taking his government from him—the political persecutions which he underwent in England—in short, the incidents of his troubled career from the day on which he landed here, until a merciful Providence clouded his intellect, and dulled the sharpness of his sorrows, form as painful a picture as was ever presented to the eye of sympathizing humanity."

"It is possible," says James Parton, "to overpraise the most virtuous action; and perhaps William Penn has received for his conduct to the Indians more commendation than is due. Nevertheless the act was wise and right: and so let it stand. His greater glory was, that in his Province of Pennsylvania he did not follow the bad example set him by the Puritans of New England, in persecuting people for the sake of their religious principles. Quakers were whipped, branded, banished, pilloried, hanged, in New England; but no Puritan was ever molested for religion's sake in Pennsylvania. This was due, chiefly and immediately, to the wisdom and magnanimity of William Penn, and it will remain a glory to his memory forever. It was this which gave to Pennsylvania its rapid prosperity; for while New England, which was a refuge only for Puritans, ceased to attract emigrants when Puritans

ceased to be persecuted in England, Pennsylvania continued for a century to receive a tide of virtuous Protestants from Sweden, Norway, England, Germany, and even from New England itself."

Respecting the Indians, says Janney (Life of Penn, p. 219), "It is certain that no other man ever attained so great an influence over their minds; and the affectionate intercourse between them and the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, which continued as long as the principles of the first colonists preserved their ascendency, is the most beautiful exemplification afforded in history, that the peaceable doctrines of Christ are adapted to promote the happiness of man." As is well known, Penn was called by the Iroquois in their public speeches Onas and by the Delawares Miquon, which in both languages is the name for a pen or quill.

"Nor is this high reputation," says Macaulay, "altogether unmerited. Penn was, without doubt, a man of eminent virtues. He had a strong sense of religious duty, and a fervent desire to promote the happiness of mankind. On one or two points of high importance, he had notions more correct than were in his day common, even among men of enlarged minds; and as the proprietor and legislator of a province which, being almost uninhabited when it came into his possession, afforded a clear field for moral experiments, he had the rare good fortune of being able to carry his theories into practice without any compromise, and yet without any shock to existing institutions. He

will always be mentioned with honor as the founder of a colony, who did not, in his dealings with a savage people, abuse the strength derived from civilization, and as a lawgiver, who in an age of persecution, made religious liberty the corner stone of a polity."

"William Penn," said Edmund Burke, "as a legislator, deserves great honor among all men. He created a Commonwealth which, from a few hundreds of indigent refugees, has in seventy years grown to a numerous and flourishing people. But what crowned all, was the noble charter of privileges, by which he made them more free, perhaps, than any people on earth, and which, by securing both civil and religious liberty, caused the eyes of the oppressed from all parts of the world, to look to his country for relief. This one act of godlike wisdom and goodness, has settled Penn's country in a more strong and permanent manner than the wisest regulations could have done on any other plan."

"In spite of its frequent political jars and bickerings," remarks Ellis (Life of Penn, p. 406), "the province of Pennsylvania was, at the time of its founder's death, a monument to his wisdom and benevolence. It numbered then a population of sixty thousand, and Philadelphia alone contained fourteen hundred houses. The province continued to be owned and governed by the Penn family until the war of the revolution."

"That such a character as William Penn," remarks

Bowden, "should have had many biographers cannot excite surprise. His fame may be said to be world-wide, and men of far different sentiments have inscribed his name on the pages of history, as one of the most illustrious of his age—an age, it should be remembered, of stirring events and conspicuous for men of brilliant attainments." Bancroft says, "His fame is now as wide as the world," and Montesquieu calls him "the modern Lycurgus."

These encomiums we know might be extended, but our desire is merely to select such as possess sentiments in which we generally can concur, and be restricted to a moderate chapter.

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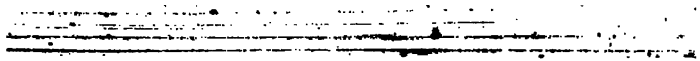

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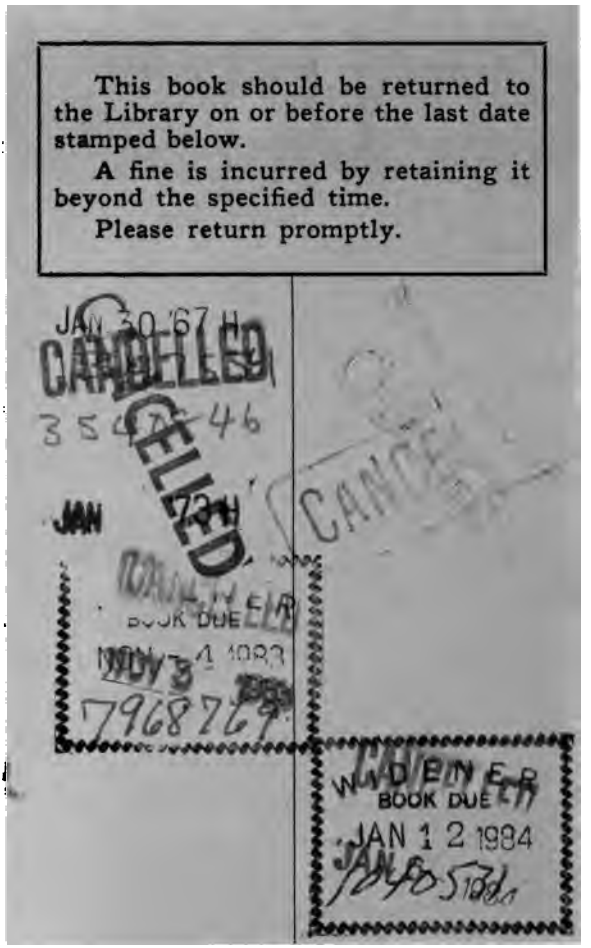

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